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THE REPORT

OF THE

SELECT COMMITTEE

ON

EMIGRATION

IN 1826,

WITH

A BRIEF ANALYSIS

OF THE

EVIDENCE AND APPENDIX.

27271

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXVII.

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PREFACE.

It has been thought convenient, for the information of the Public, to prepare a careful analysis of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Emigration of 1826, and of the Appendix to the Report and Evidence, as those documents, containing a mass of the most valuable information, must necessarily, from their size, be very formidable to the ordinary class of readers.

CONTENTS.

Page

REPORT of the SELECT COMMITTEE appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the Expediency of encouraging EMIGRATION from the United Kingdom 1

Analysis of the Evidence given before the Committee 25

Analysis of the Appendix to the Report . . . 133

REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the Expediency of encouraging Emigration from the United Kingdom, and to report their Observations thereupon to The House; and to whom the Reports of Sessions 1823, 1824, and 1825, on the State of *Ireland*, and the Employment of the Poor there; and also the Petitions and Memorials to the Colonial Department from Persons desirous of emigrating from the United Kingdom, were severally referred:——HAVE, pursuant to the Order of the House, examined the Matters to them referred; and have agreed to the following REPORT:—

Your Committee are induced to consider that the following important Facts have been established by the Evidence which they have collected for the information of the House:—

First:—That there are extensive districts in Ireland, and districts in England and Scotland, where the population is at the present moment redundant; in other words, where there exists a very considerable proportion of able-bodied and active labourers, beyond that number to which any existing demand for labour can afford employ-

ment:—That the effect of this redundancy is not only to reduce a part of this population to a great degree of destitution and misery, but also to deteriorate the general condition of the labouring classes:—That by its producing a supply of labour in excess as compared with the demand, the wages of labour are necessarily reduced to a minimum, which is utterly insufficient to supply that population with those means of support and subsistence which are necessary to secure a healthy and satisfactory condition of the Community:—That in England, this redundant population has been in part supported by a parochial rate, which, according to the Reports and Evidence of former Committees specially appointed to consider the subject, threatens in its extreme tendency to absorb the whole rental of the Country; and that in Ireland, where no such parochial rate exists by law, and where the redundancy is found in a still greater degree, a considerable part of the population is dependent for the means of support on the precarious source of charity, or is compelled to resort to habits of plunder and spoliation for the actual means of subsistence.

Secondly:—That in the British Colonies in North America (including the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island) at the Cape of Good Hope, and in New South Wales, and Van Diemen's Land, there are tracts of unappropriated land of the most fertile

quality, capable of receiving and subsisting any proportion of the redundant population of this country, for whose conveyance thither, means could be found at any time, present or future.

Thirdly:—That while the English, Scotch and Irish evidence taken before your Committee appears to establish the fact, that this redundant population is practically found to repress the industry, and even sometimes to endanger the peace of the mother-country; the Colonial evidence which has been taken by Your Committee uniformly concurs in the opinion, that the industry and the safety of the Colonies will be materially encouraged and preserved by the reception of this population. The unemployed labourer at home necessarily consumes more than he produces, and the national wealth is diminished in that proportion. When transferred to new countries, where soil of the first quality of fertility is unappropriated, and where the rate of wages is consequently high, it will be found that he produces infinitely more than he consumes, and the national wealth will be increased by the change, if the Colonies are to be considered as integral parts of the nation at large.

If the foregoing positions be correct, your Committee feel justified in recommending the subject of Emigration to the most serious and deliberate consideration of the House, as one obvious and immediate measure for correcting in some degree this redundancy of population, and for mitigating

the numerous evils which appear to result from its existence. But in the prosecution of their examination of this most important and comparatively unexamined subject, they have not had either the time or the opportunity to perfect that scope of inquiry which would justify them in offering to the House any *specific* recommendations, with respect to the manner in which it might be convenient to make any experiment of Emigration on an extended scale; they therefore propose to limit themselves to an exposition of the principles by which the examination of the evidence taken before them has been uniformly directed, and to a short enumeration of the points which have formed distinct objects of inquiry.

They have considered that no system of Emigration could be recommended to the attention of Parliament, which was not *essentially voluntary* on the part of the Emigrants, and which did not relate to that part of the community which may be considered to be in a state of *permanent pauperism*. They also consider, that it would be in the highest degree desirable that any expense incurred for the purpose of Emigration, to be contributed from national funds, should be ultimately repaid; so that no gratuitous expenditure should be necessary, except in cases which might justifiably be made exceptions to the general rule. It is true the Emigrations carried into effect in 1823 and 1825, under the superintendence of Mr. . ater

Robinson, the details of which are to be found in the Appendix*, were supported by Parliamentary grants of money, for which no repayment was pledged; but those emigrations were necessary for the purpose of experiment, and the justification of employing public money for that purpose was specially pleaded, on the ground of their being experiments which were necessary to precede any more extended scheme. The principal, if not the only objections which were raised against these experiments, rested on the ground of the expenditure of public money which they involved being unrepaid.

Your Committee, therefore, did not pause to consider the question, whether the benefits which might be expected to accrue, both to the mother-country and to the Colonies, from a measure so calculated to benefit both parties, would be sufficient to justify an outlay of national capital; but they proceeded to satisfy themselves with respect to the actual expenditure incurred in the Emigration of 1823, (which, as an experiment, may be considered to have entirely succeeded,) and to ascertain whether an equal or a less expense incurred in subsequent Emigrations could be coupled with arrangements to supersede the necessity of any national outlay without repayment. In illustration of the views which they entertain on

* In Parliamentary Papers.

this part of the subject, they beg to refer to the following Extract from an original Paper which was laid before the Committee of 1823, on the Employment of the Poor in Ireland, which is given at length in the Appendix to this Report:—

"It is considered as unquestionable, that, although this measure is not in the slightest degree compulsory, the poor man who offers his strength and energy as a labourer, but who, finding no demand, or at least no adequate demand, for his services, is compelled to receive 'parish relief' for the preservation of his own existence and that of his family, will accept this opportunity of bettering his condition, by laying the foundation for future independence, with eagerness and gratitude, when sufficient time has elapsed, and proper pains been taken to make him understand the true nature and character of the change that is proposed for him.

"It is equally considered as certain, that parishes will anxiously accept this facility (as far as their own concurrence is required) of relieving themselves, at a slight annual expense, of any present and pressing redundancy of population, and also of securing for the future the effectual prevention supplied by this measure for any accumulation of labourers whose services they may be incapable of remunerating.

"It is at once evident that this system of emigration could be made immediately applicable to

Ireland and Scotland, provided that money was raised there for the purpose by local assessment, or that a specific tax was pledged for money lent for that purpose by the Government.'

" Although it may be argued, that there can be no actual redundancy of population as long as the waste lands in the mother-country remain uncultivated, yet no person conversant with such subjects can contend that such redundancy does not now, virtually at least, exist; in other words, that there are not many strong labouring men for whose services there is no adequate demand, and who cannot be employed upon any productive labour that will pay the expenses of production; and if any person should feel alarm, that, under the operation of such a measure, too great a proportion of the population might be abstracted, they may rest assured not only that this measure can be suspended or limited at any time, but that, in point of fact, it has that suspensive power within itself; for, whenever there should exist at home an adequate demand for the services of able-bodied men out of employ, whether from the increase of productive industry or from the demands of war, or from any other cause, there would be no longer a temptation to emigrate.

" It is also observed, that with such a system in regular and effective operation, no inconvenience could ever again result to this country from a temporary stimulus being given at any time to the population which could not permanently be sus-

tained. It must not be forgotten, in a comprehensive view of such a system, that the pauper for whose labour no remuneration can be afforded at home, will be transmuted by this process into an independent proprietor, and at no distant period will become a consumer of the manufactured articles of his native country; nor, on the other hand, can any calculable period be assigned for the termination of such a system, until all the colonies of the British empire are saturated, and millions added to those who speak the English language, and carry with them the liberty and the laws and sympathies of their native country.

"Such a system would direct the tide of emigration towards parts of the British empire which must be considered as integral, though separated by geographical position. The defence of these colonial possessions would be more easily supplied within themselves, and their increasing prosperity would not only relieve the mother-country from pecuniary demands that are now indispensable, but that prosperity, in its re-action, would augment the wealth and the resources of the mother-country itself."

The number of emigrants sent out in 1823 was 182 men, 143 women, 57 boys between fourteen and eighteen, and 186 children under fourteen, forming together an aggregate of 568. The expense *actually incurred* for this emigration amounted, as will be seen in the Appendix, to 12,593*l.* 3*s.* which

was at the rate of 22*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per head; the Estimate on which the vote was taken was at the rate of 80*l.* per family, taking the proportion of a man, a woman, and two children for each family. That Estimate had been calculated with reference to the following details; a man 35*l.*, a woman 25*l.*, two children 14*l.* each, forming a total of 88*l.*, from which deduction had been made of a little more than 9 per cent., on the supposition that a combined emigration would be found to be less expensive than an individual case; but the total absence of all previous preparations, and a high rate of passage, carried the actual expense beyond the Estimate. It will however be observed, with respect to the emigrants actually sent out, that the men were beyond the proportion estimated: if that proportion had been preserved, the numbers would have been 142 men, 142 women, and 284 children, consequently the actual expense would have been 12,496*l.* instead of 13,347*l.*, and in that case the positive excess over the Estimate would have amounted to 1136*l.*—Various reasons have induced your Committee to make their calculations at the rate of 20*l.* per head: in making their calculations at that rate, which has peculiar relation to the colony of Upper Canada, your Committee beg it may be distinctly understood, that they are by no means prepared to express an opinion that an emigration might not be carried on to Upper Canada at a still less rate of expense; for by taking the

proportion in each family at 3 children, which your Committee have reason to believe would be found to be a more accurate proportion than 2 children to each family, the expense would necessarily be reduced in proportion. But your Committee are also of opinion that previous arrangements, contracts upon an extended scale, especially if made for a series of years, and order and method introduced into the whole of the system, would enable a less sum to effect that which has been actually effected in the case of the emigration of 1823, where no facilities existed, except in the assistance of the local government of Upper Canada, and in the zeal and exertions of the superintendent, Mr. Peter Robinson.

Your Committee would also observe, that the calculation of expense must necessarily vary in every different colony: the evidence shows that it would be diminished in Lower Canada, in New Brunswick, in Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward's Island; but if 80*l.* be taken as the maximum expense necessary to convey one man, one woman, and *two children* only to Upper Canada, and if the evidence should show that "that maximum" can be repaid, it follows, *à fortiori*, that any minor expense can be repaid with greater ease.

With respect to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the distance naturally creating so much additional expense in the passage, the calculations applicable to North America in no degree

whatever apply to these Colonies. With respect to the Cape, the only emigration contemplated has been an emigration of labourers rather than of colonists; which equally makes the calculation of Upper Canada inapplicable to that Colony. Your Committee have supposed that the sum of 80*l.* could be raised on annuity of 3*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.* for sixty years, interest being taken at four per cent.; and under the supposition that such an annuity could be raised, their inquiries were directed to the question, whether, supposing that the payment of such annuity for the first seven years were secured, the situation of the emigrant head of a family would be such as to enable him to undertake the payment of this annuity for the remainder of the period, in liquidation of the debt contracted by him for his removal from the mother-country to the colony, and this without any prejudice or inconvenience to himself, it being provided, as a necessary collateral arrangement, that he might redeem that annuity at any time on the common principles of redemption, thereby freeing his land from the charges which otherwise would contingently attach to it.

An examination of the evidence before your Committee will show that a large majority of the evidence which has been obtained upon this subject is in favour of such a repayment being practicable, and that there would be little difficulty in collecting it, provided it were to be clearly explained that it was in the nature of a repayment of a debt con-

tracted, rather than in the character of rent for land.

It will also be found to be generally stated, that in the case of an emigrant leaving the land at the expiration of seven years, when the repayment by the terms of the proposition would commence, the improvement of his cultivation for seven years would make the land itself an adequate security for such repayment.

It may be necessary to mention in this place, that with respect to the sum advanced by the emigrant, your Committee never contemplated an actual repayment of money to be transmitted to England, but a payment which should be applied in the Colony for purposes which it is now necessary to defray exclusively from the funds of the Mother-country. In pursuing the subject in this point of view, your Committee were not only influenced by the consideration of the advantage of securing a practical repayment of any money which might be supplied from the national funds for this national object, but also by the conviction that the industry of the emigrant would be more effectually stimulated and confirmed by subjecting him to the repayment of the greater part of the debt incurred, the particulars and nature of which debt could be distinctly explained to him previously to his being received as a candidate for emigration, and which debt, if it be duly analyzed, will not be found to differ in principle from any other debt which may be incurred

by any individual for the object of bettering his own condition and that of his family.

The inquiries of your Committee were then directed to the consideration, whether the payment of the annuity for the first period, namely, seven years, could be obtained from those parties at home, who were specially benefited by the removal of the redundant population. Your Committee feel it hardly necessary to observe that the cases of England, Ireland, and Scotland essentially differ from each other in this respect. In England, the poor-rate affords an immediate fund which can be made applicable to the repayment of any expense incurred for emigration; the evidence of Mr. Hodges, the Chairman of the West Kent Quarter Sessions, is so copious and satisfactory upon this subject, that your Committee have only to call the particular attention of the House to it; and although Mr. Hodges' observations are limited to a particular district in Kent and Sussex, it will be found that the principle will apply generally to any part of England where a redundant population is found to exist. In Scotland a poor-rate exists, though so modified by local circumstances, and so varying in its practical execution, as to make it very doubtful whether it could be made applicable in the same manner as the English poor-rate for such repayment.

In Ireland the case is entirely different; nothing in the nature of a poor-rate exists by law; and

therefore voluntary consent on the part of the proprietors of land towards any contribution for the purpose of emigration, must there, as well as in Scotland, be indispensable. In the case of Ireland, whether such voluntary contribution were made by individuals, or by local assessments, to which individuals might be consentient, the principle of voluntary consent still remains necessary as part of the measure. Your Committee therefore beg to call the particular attention of the House to the very important evidence which they have received with respect to the state of that country. It will be found uniformly stated in that evidence, that the evils of pauperism are not less felt in Ireland in consequence of the non-existence of a parochial fund for the support of the poor; all the attributes of the most unbounded pauperism are to be found there; mendicancy, with all its train of evils, occasional outrage, habits of idleness, even in those for whose labour some demand exists, and a character of destitution and misery pervading all the lower classes of society. It is also to be observed, that in a pecuniary point of view an indirect burthen is imposed upon that part of the country where a redundant population exists. Your Committee therefore trust that the most deliberate attention of the Proprietors of land in Ireland will be called to this subject, and that they may be induced to make voluntary contributions for the purpose of emigration, as a relief from those burthens which, though

not legally imposed, are yet found practically to press upon them, from the superabundance of the pauper population.

Your Committee at the same time are fully aware that neither the parishes in England or in Scotland, nor districts or proprietors of land in Ireland, will be induced to contribute for this purpose, *unless it can be demonstrably shown that their interests, both general and pecuniary, will be benefited by such contribution.* Your Committee have no hesitation in expressing their opinion, that the general tenour of the evidence received by them justifies the expectation that such benefit will be thereby derived.

There is however one special point of view with respect to Ireland, to which your Committee feel it necessary to call the attention of the House: it is that of a proprietor who is legally entitled to eject a redundant pauper population, which has been surreptitiously introduced into his property, but who, at the same time that he feels that his own interest and that of his family are materially involved in the removal of this population, shrinks from the exercise of his undoubted legal right, from his dread of the consequences which must attach to them from their removal.

In such a state of circumstances, which your Committee have reason to believe is not of unfrequent occurrence, they cannot but contemplate the public advantage that would be derived from enabling such a measure on the part of an individual

to be carried into effect, to the mutual benefit of the party dispossessing and of the party dispossessed; and they entertain the most confident expectation that a careful examination into this part of the subject, on the part of the Irish proprietors, will convince them that their own interests will be consulted by a contribution towards the expense of the emigration of such tenants.

With reference to this particular part of the subject, your Committee beg to advert to an Act passed in the present Session, entitled, "An Act to amend the Law of Ireland respecting the Assignment and Sub-letting of Lands and Tenements." This Act was specially founded upon the evidence taken before the Committees on the state of Ireland, and has met with the entire concurrence of both Houses of Parliament. It provides against the recurrence of the evil which has been described in the preceding paragraphs. But the House will not fail to remark, that all the advantages that may be derived from this Act will be diminished, if not rendered absolutely nugatory, unless a well organized system of Emigration should be established concurrently with the measure itself. With respect to the disposition of the tenantry ejected under such circumstances, your Committee have to observe, that the uniform testimony they have received from the evidence, from the petitions submitted to them, and from other sources of information, has induced them to believe that the knowledge, which is now

generally disseminated, of the advantages which the emigrants of 1823 and 1825 have experienced, will be sufficient to induce not only any paupers who may be ejected under such circumstances, but all of the more destitute classes of the population in Ireland, to avail themselves with the utmost gratitude of any facilities which may be afforded for emigration. On this point your Committee beg to transcribe an extract from a letter addressed by Colonel Talbot, the founder of the Talbot Settlement in Upper Canada, to a member of your Committee, with respect to the Emigration of 1823 and 1825:—

"I accompanied Sir Peregrine Maitland last winter "on a tour of inspection to the new Irish emigrant "settlements, about 100 miles below York. I was "anxious to see how they were getting on, and "whether the scheme of transporting the poor of "Ireland to this country was likely to prove bene-"ficial or not, and was happy to find them doing "admirably. These people were sent out last "summer, about 2,000 souls, and did not get on "their land until late in November; all of them that "I saw had snug log huts, and had chopped each "between three and four acres, and I have every "reason to think that they will realize a comfortable "independence in the course of this year, and be "of no further cost to the government; and it was "satisfactory to hear them expressing their grati-"tude for what was done for them."

To revert to the subject of the repayment, by

the emigrants, of part of the expense incurred. Your Committee are fully aware that such repayment could alone be made practicable under the circumstances of an adequate market being found for the increased productions of the colonies, arising from the cultivation of the land by each successive series of emigrants; they have, therefore, directed a very extensive examination into this particular branch of inquiry. The evidence of Mr. Uniacke upon this subject, as connected with the Fisheries, will be found to be very interesting and satisfactory.

Your Committee thought it of paramount importance to inquire whether the result of emigration on an extended scale, carried into effect from year to year by fresh importations of emigrants, would not involve a material diminution of the expense incurred in each successive year, with reference to the numbers emigrating; and whether, in point of fact, a well-organized system of emigration, once established, would not carry itself on without extraneous assistance, or at least with assistance reduced to a very small amount, as compared with its original amount. Their inquiries, therefore, have been especially directed to this point; and it will be found that the general tenour of the evidence is in favour of the probability of a material diminution of expense in each successive year.

Your Committee being fully aware that one popular objection which is continually offered to any

system of Emigration on an extended scale, is the argument, that the benefit would be only temporary, and that the temporary vacuum would be rapidly filled up, felt it necessary to direct their inquiries to the consideration of such collateral measures, both of a legislative and of a practical nature, as might be calculated to repress, if not to prevent, that tendency: they have therefore pursued their inquiries very extensively, and have been fortunate enough to collect very valuable evidence on this branch of the subject.

Your Committee were also aware that a popular objection exists to Emigration, on the ground, that the numbers to be taken away, for the purpose of producing any benefit, must be necessarily so great as to prevent the possibility of any practical measure sufficient for the purpose. Your Committee therefore (without expressing any opinion whatever on this point) have directed their inquiries to this investigation, as comprising an element of primary importance in the consideration of Emigration as a national measure.

This part of the subject may be illustrated by the following hypothetical statement. If a district be admitted to require only nine hundred labourers for its adequate cultivation, and if a thousand are found to exist there, who are all more or less employed, it is evident, whether the case be supposed to happen in England or in Ireland, that the fund for the remuneration of labour in that district is divided

among a thousand instead of nine hundred persons; the consequence may and probably will be, that the whole one thousand will receive less than would be adequate to support them, and that they may *all* present an appearance of want and destitution; but if one hundred labourers be removed from this district, and by that operation the supply of labour be proportioned to the real demand, the wages of labour will necessarily rise, and the condition of the remaining nine hundred may be materially improved; and, what is of more importance, the actual work executed by those nine hundred labourers, in their improved condition, may and will be equal, if not superior, to that which was executed by the whole one thousand in their state of comparatively unremunerated service. In illustration of this subject, reference also may be made to the Report, printed in 1824, of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the practice which prevails in some parts of the country, of paying the Wages of labour out of the Poor-rates, &c.

Your Committee observed, in the Report of the Committees appointed, in 1817 and 1819, to consider of the Poor Laws, that a strong opinion was expressed as to an extension, unlicensed by actual law, of the relief afforded to able-bodied paupers, under which much of the evils incident to the Poor Law system have been considered to arise; and they thought it would be expedient to inquire in what manner and to what degree a well-organized

system of Emigration from England would facilitate the appropriation of the poor-rates according to their original application, as contended for by those Committees; and how far it might be found practicable to mortgage the poor-rates for the purpose of relieving the parishes from their superabundant population. They have therefore made particular inquiries on these points: and here they have again to revert to the valuable evidence of Mr. Hodges, who has shown that voluntary efforts have already been made for this special purpose; that, within his knowledge, parishes have furnished money from the poor-rates for the purpose of facilitating Emigration; and that the emigrants, availing themselves of those facilities, had proceeded to the United States of America. Your Committee presume that it would be unnecessary to argue in favour of any determination of Emigrants to our own colonies, provided it can be shown that the expense necessary to be incurred will not be so great as that which is necessary in their removal to the United States.

An application was made to your Committee by the Colombian Agricultural Association, with reference to the subject of receiving Emigrants on the lands located to them in Colombia; and your Committee beg to refer to the evidence of Sir Robert Wilson upon this point.

Your Committee beg also to inform the House, that, during the course of their investigation, they

received an application from Mr. Chambers, a Police Magistrate, requesting to be examined upon the subject of that numerous class of persons in the Metropolis, chiefly under age, who, being thrown upon the streets in perfect destitution, soon resort to crimes for their support. A class so numerous, and whose case is so lamentable, deserves the attention of Parliament as one of those special cases which must be either left to the benevolence of charitable institutions, or of Parliament, to supply those funds for the first period of emigration, which (as already explained) the Committee are disposed to recommend should be furnished by the individuals specially benefited by the removal of the Emigrants.

They would also beg to refer to the evidence of Mr. Bodkin, the secretary of the Mendicity Society, upon this subject.

It will be observed, from the examination of the Evidence, that in the event of any general measure of Emigration being carried into effect, it has been suggested to the Committee, that several legislative measures might, under certain modifications, be introduced as auxiliaries to the object: such, for example, as to enable parishes in England to mortgage their poor-rates for the purpose of forming a fund for the emigration of their poor; to enable tenants for life in Ireland and Scotland to charge their estates for that object; to enable parishes in Ireland and Scotland to effect a similar charge,

subject to the consent of some definite proportion of the contributors; to provide some means for regulating the erection of cottages in those agricultural parishes where rates may be mortgaged for the purposes of emigration*; to establish a Board of Emigration, with protectors of emigrants; to hold a lien on the lands allotted to the emigrants as a security until the original debt be liquidated, such lien to be in the nature of a land-tax, redeemable at any time at a certain rate of redemption; to legalise apprenticeships, in no case to exceed seven years, during which one-fourth of the wages received by the apprentice should be set apart by the master in liquidation of the expense incurred in the transport of the emigrant, such apprenticeships only to continue until that expense shall have been liquidated, and after that period the apprentice to be entirely free†.

Your Committee beg finally to express their decided conviction, that the circulation of their Report, and of the Minutes of Evidence, throughout the United Kingdom and the Colonies, will enable any future Committee to resume the subject, with the means of proposing measures sufficiently definite to justify their recommendation of them to the House for its adoption.

26 *May*, 1826.

* Vide Evidence of Mr. Hodges.

† Vide Evidence of Mr. Carlisle and Mr. Eager.

ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

Given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, relative to Emigration.

HENRY JOHN BOULTON, Esq.,

Mr. Boulton.

THE Solicitor-General of Upper Canada, having carefully read the evidence that has been given before the Irish Committees of 1823 and 1825, and being acquainted with its details, thinks it, generally speaking, very accurate*. He was not present at the location of the Irish emigrants sent out to the province of Upper Canada in 1823; but he had frequent conversation with them after they had been some time on their lands, particularly in consequence of a disturbance (and the only one which took place among them) soon after their settlement. He went there as public prosecutor, to bring them to justice; and though the sentence was severe, for the sake of example, yet he joined the presiding judge in recommending to the governor of the colony, the remission of the greater part of the punishment. He believes that this emigration has completely answered, and that the settlers are all perfectly satisfied with their situation, except perhaps fifteen or twenty worthless people, mostly young men, who had no ties to bind them, or who, finding that they were likely to be punished for the disturbances in which they had been engaged, thought it pru-

Page 13. In the Parliamentary Report.

* William Bowman Felton, Esq., the Rev. Dr. Strachan, George Markland, Esq., John Rolph, Esq., all concur in this opinion.

dent to abscond. With these exceptions, the emigrants are, in all respects, satisfied and doing well. Mr. Boulton has frequently heard them contrasting their present situation with that which they had left in Ireland, expressing the highest satisfaction at their change of circumstances, and recommending their friends to leave no stone unturned to join them; and he has seen forty or fifty letters written to their friends and relations in Ireland, full of those sentiments. The emigrants of 1823 were settled upon the river Mississippi, in the district of Bathurst, in the eastern part of the province; but those of 1825 are settled much higher up, in the Newcastle district, towards the centre of the colony. With provisions for one year, a cow, implements of husbandry, and aid in building a log-house, Mr. Boulton is of opinion, that the emigrants will proceed without any further assistance from the public; for he knows many that go upon their lands perfectly destitute, and yet succeed; and he has no doubt but that they would be able to pay 4*l.* per annum for their location of 100 acres, after a period of seven years. Under such favourable circumstances, they would soon acquire property, for they become quickly dexterous in the use of the axe; and an able-bodied industrious man can, without overworking himself, clear a fence, and put in crop ten acres of land in the course of twelve months. This crop would consist of Indian corn, wheat and potatoes; the acre would yield twenty or thirty bushels of wheat, notwithstanding the stumps of trees remaining on the ground. If emigration continue, the settlers will find a better market at their door from the strangers coming on their lots, and requiring provisions, than in the towns; and he has known 5*s.* paid for wheat back in the woods, when it would hardly fetch half

Page 14.

that sum on the Lake shore. Presuming that the emigrant would continue to make the usual improvements, he would, at the end of seven years, have seven or eight barrels of flour to spare, and for that he would get a great deal more than 4*l.*; for he never knew a barrel of flour sell at a lower price than 12*s.* 6*d.*; the average price throughout the country is 20*s.* provincial currency, equal to 18*s.* sterling. The farmer is the pro- Page 15.
ducer, and is at little expense in bringing his flour to market; for he uses his own team, and takes provisions for himself and provender for his cattle along with him. Indeed, that farmer must be very idle, who has not eight barrels of flour to dispose of at the end of seven years over and above what is sufficient for the maintenance of his family. There is a market in all the towns and villages for the produce of the settlers; for the shopkeepers, or merchants, residing in those places, buy it up with money or goods, and send to Montreal, for exportation, what is not required for home consumption: eight, which he mentioned as the number of barrels of flour which an emigrant could spare at the end of seven years, is not the result of any accurate calculation, but an accidental quantity; it is the very minimum, as he thinks it hardly possible that a man should have so little. He ought to have, in that time, thirty acres under improvement, a pair of horses with either a waggon, or cart, or some vehicle to carry his produce; two or three cows, a yoke of oxen, a comfortable house to live in, and plenty of wholesome food for himself and family. He has known countless instances of persons who had not a shilling in their pockets on their arrival, and even begged of him a meal of victuals, who, in a few years, were able to live comfortably, and could get credit for six or ten pounds Page 16.

worth of necessaries as readily as he could; nay, he has known many such persons, in the course of fifteen or twenty years, become men of considerable property, magistrates and members of the legislature, and at length forming a part of the aristocracy of the country: nor does he conceive it possible that a man of common industry, having 100 acres of land, can be unable to pay a quit-rent of 4*l.* per annum. Archdeacon Strachan, concurring in the foregoing part of Mr.
Page 157. Boulton's evidence, says, that a short time before he left Upper Canada, he had occasion to go to the eastern part of the province, and in passing through the village of Brockville, he saw two or three of the emigrants of 1823, who seemed extremely well pleased with their situation, and had come to sell their produce; he was given to understand that many of them had a surplus, and that one family had twenty-three barrels of flour to dispose of. He also learned that they had gained the good opinion of their neighbours, who looked upon them at first with suspicion. They could sell their produce at Perth, which is the town nearest their settlement, but they frequently come to Brockville, which is situated on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in expectation of getting a better price. In disposing of their produce they commonly get half in money and half in goods. In regard to the single family that had
Page 158. so much greater a quantity of flour than the rest, it must have arisen from their superior industry; for it was always understood that the emigration of 1823 had no means except what was furnished by government; and he is decidedly of opinion that any settler, who attends to his farm, may, after a period of seven years, have twenty barrels of flour for sale; which, calculating at the price of 20*s.*, or 18*s.* sterling, per

barrel, will bring him, in the usual way of dealing, 9*l.* in goods and 9*l.* in money. Nor can there be any doubt of the emigrant settlers being able to repay by instalments the capital advanced in placing them upon their lands, to commence at the end of seven years; but it must be considered the interest of a debt which he may redeem, and not rent, for there is a strong prejudice against the name of rent. The people of the country are accustomed to pay interest on their purchases, and if that interest be lower than what is usual, they will perceive the advantage, and pay it more readily. As the settlers would certainly have the ability, it is hoped that they would have the disposition; but were it otherwise, the improved land would more than pay the advance, and be a sufficient security that the parties would rather pay the debt than forsake their farms. Mr. Boulton says, that an old settler, having a hundred and fifty acres of land, would not find the slightest difficulty in paying a quit-rent of 3*l.* 10*s.* per annum; for many such persons incur debts to the amount of 40*l.* or 50*l.*, and discharge them honestly; but there are considerable prejudices against renting land, because a man of common industry can easily acquire land of his own: call it interest, with the power of paying up the capital, and all prejudice is removed. The very name of even a pepper-corn for rent, says the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia, is revolted against; talk of interest of money, and then everybody will meet you; but when you put it in the shape of rent, though it is but a pepper-corn, a man would say, I did not come here to pay rent; but if you were to say I paid 50*l.* for settling you here, he would say, I will repay you the 50*l.* and the interest upon it. Mr. Boulton states that

Page 17.

Page 41.

Page 16. the European emigrants, and others who purchase, commonly undertake to pay for their lands in six or seven years, with annual interest at six per cent. They live upon their lots some portion of the year, to put in a crop sufficient for their families, and then go in search of labour; and, if industrious, they will get between 2*l.* and 3*l.* a month. After a few months they return with their savings, 7*l.* or 8*l.* perhaps, which they pay their landlord. In this way many complete their payments in six or seven years; but should they not pay up the whole in the stipulated time, the proprietor extends it, if the interest is regularly paid, and the improvements are proceeding. Instances of people being driven off are rare, and with a little time they generally complete their purchase. The price of such land depends more upon the situation than the goodness of the soil, being from one to four and five dollars per acre,—nor is the land any better, though it may be more convenient, than that prepared for locating the settlers;—for the lands which remain unlocated are equally good with those already settled, only requiring roads and inhabitants. Plains without timber, of which there are some in Upper Canada, are not desirable, because they are not considered the best land. The natives prefer heavy to light timbered land, because it indicates a better soil. The province of Upper Canada is generally healthy. Towards the western extremity, along the borders of St. Clair, the settlers are liable in summer to fever, not in itself malignant, but often very tedious. The occasional unhealthiness of this part of the province is attributed to its flatness—it resembles very much the adjacent portions of the United States: the streams of water run sluggishly, and springs are not so abundant as in other places; but it is supposed

by many of the old inhabitants to get more healthy as it becomes settled!

In regard to York, against which some prejudices have prevailed, the number of families who have lived there long without any serious illness proves it healthy. The marsh adjacent to the eastern part of the town affects the people living near it more frequently with fever and ague than those at a distance; but the new comers that are afflicted, owe their disease to want and privations, rather than the climate. The fever and ague, which attacks the emigrant settlers, does not always spare the old inhabitants; but it is not considered a dangerous, though sometimes a tedious, disease. The circulation of money is circumscribed, but as we approach York, the seat of government, where the provincial bank is established, it appears more plentiful. Barter most commonly prevails among the farmers, who exchange their produce with the shopkeeper, for clothes, groceries, and necessaries; if the settler demands money, he does not get quite so high a price for his produce, for there is a difference in all transactions in North America between the cash and the barter price, because the merchant can afford to increase the price he gives for produce, in proportion to the profit he gets on the sale of his commodities.

Page 18

Page 17.

There is one bank in Upper, and three in Lower, Canada, which issue paper as low as a dollar, or 4*s*. 6*d*. sterling, but which passes in the province at 5*s*. The first hut, or log-house, which the settler builds, as to its comfort, depends upon his industry and cleanliness, but he generally builds a good frame-house at the end of seven or eight years. The tax on a house of this sort is so minute that it never can become a motive to deter him from building. Mr. Boulton says, that it is

a common practice among the emigrants to save a little money, to assist their friends and relations in coming out; and the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia (page 41) tells the Committee, *that he has received more than 200l. from different persons to pay passages out, and he holds contributions from twenty-five families, equal to bring out two or three for each family;* of those twenty-five families, the first arrival might be about twelve years ago, when, perhaps, he laboured two or three years before he was able to settle; from the period of his settlement it may be about nine years, but the witness believes that *there are as many as three who have been able to send, within three or four years, funds to bring out some of their friends; and from one he had 16l., and from the other two 7l. or 8l. each.*

Mr. Boulton (page 19) has been upon the Lake Erie Canal, and has a book, containing a complete detail of its progress. It is already used to an extent beyond the most sanguine anticipation; it now pays an enormous interest on the outlay, and it is expected to pay for itself in ten years. It, indeed, appears from
Page 165. Dr. Strachan's evidence, that the revenue last year, amounted to five hundred thousand dollars. The capital expended in cutting it was eight million of dollars. Were it not for the canal now in progress, to connect Lakes Erie and Ontario, the whole traffic of the western portion of Upper Canada would pass to New York, but the canal on the British side will, when finished, turn the tide of business to Montreal; and the inhabitants of the western provinces of the United States are as anxious that the Welland Canal should be finished as their own Erie Canal, because it would give them a choice of markets. The produc-

tions being in general bulky and heavy articles, the tendency would be to send them down the St. Lawrence on the completion of the Welland Canal, by means of which they can bring their freight nearly twelve hundred miles in the same vessel; now, in using the Erie Canal, they must unload at Buffalo, where it commences, and put their produce into boats. The Welland Canal is intended to admit ships of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, which is the size of those that commonly navigate Lakes Ontario and Erie; and such are its advantages, that a very great anxiety has been excited among the people connected with the Erie Canal, from the fear of losing a great part of their business; as it is demonstrable that produce can reach the Ocean much cheaper by the Welland than by the Erie Canal, and that conveyance which is found cheapest will prevail. The harbour in Lake Erie, where the Welland Canal begins, opens from three to six weeks earlier than the American Canal, so that our canal might convey much produce to Montreal every year before the Erie Canal can be open. Mr. Boulton has not taken into his consideration the locking-up of the St. Lawrence during so large a portion of the year, as compared with the Lake Erie Canal; but he apprehends, that although the port of New York, as an emporium, and for general commerce, has much the advantage of that of Quebec, yet in regard to exports the benefit is not so important, as the articles of produce are commonly prepared during winter, and are not ready much before the port of Quebec is usually open; besides, the Erie Canal is not much used from about the middle of November till the end of April, nor until late in May at its commencement. He is not well informed how long the na-

Page 20.

Page 21.

vigation between Quebec and Lake Ontario remains frozen, but he thinks boats pass up early in May from Montreal to Kingston or Prescot. These boats are from four to thirty tons, and are poled up the different rapids; the larger are called Durham boats, and some of them, when empty, have been seen sailing with a strong easterly gale up some of the strongest rapids. The American canal does not enter Lake Ontario at Oswego; but there is a proposition in agitation for making a cut in that direction. The Americans cannot cut a canal on their side round the falls of the Niagara, with any thing like the same facility as we can; they speak indeed of a railway; but he does not think it would be of any service, provided their vessels are permitted to pass through the Welland Canal, without unnecessary restrictions: for which purpose, an act of the British parliament becomes necessary, to allow them to go through the canal without unloading. Dr. Strachan (pages 165 and 166) is decidedly of opinion, that the exports from the western part of Upper Canada will not go down the Erie Canal to New York, when the Welland Canal is finished, because it takes eight days to go down from Buffalo to New York at a considerable expense; and were it duty free, it would make no material difference, as the commodities could still be sent cheaper by the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence, to Montreal. It is calculated, that the Welland Canal will be finished in a twelvemonth. If the capital should be taken all up, the total cost will be 180,000*l.* sterling, of which 90,000*l.*, or half, has been subscribed, 70,000*l.* in New York, the remainder in the Canadas. Mr. Boulton concludes this part of his evidence by remarking, that the most suitable time for the emigrant to arrive at his land, is about the first

Mr. Boulton.

Mr. Boulton. Page 21.

week in September: he then avoids the heat of summer, has time to make himself comfortable before winter, to prepare land for a spring crop, and to have such a harvest as will enable him to get on comfortably without receiving more than one year's provision from Government.

WILLIAM BOWMAN FELTON, Esq.

Mr. Felton. Page 23.

Is a legislative councillor in the province of Lower Canada, and has read the evidence given before the Irish Committees in 1823 and 1825, which relates to emigrations to Canada, and, as far as his experience goes, it appears correct. But having never been in Upper Canada, he has not had an opportunity of seeing the emigrants of 1823 on their locations. He is acquainted with the desultory emigrations that come every year to Quebec from Ireland and Scotland.—Some proceed to Upper Canada immediately; others remain at Quebec and Montreal, where, during the summer, they find employment; and a few locate themselves in Lower Canada. The emigrant either gets land from the Crown, or purchases a lot; he employs himself the first winter in thrashing, chopping wood, or any other labour, and gains sufficient to support him, and provision for at least three months of the ensuing spring and summer. In the spring he clears land for potatoes, and sometimes Indian corn, and then contrives to pass the first twelve months on the produce of his ground and extra labour. It is, however, to be understood, that the country of which he is speaking is partially settled, and has a surplus of provisions, otherwise the destitute emigrants could not be employed;

for the labour of such is commonly paid for in produce, and not in money.

Page 24. From the want of roads in Lower Canada, the farmers in the back settlements have had great difficulty in going to market; but there has not been, within his experience, an actual want of market. The average produce in the more fertile parts of the province, even when covered with stumps, is twenty bushels of wheat per acre. It is usual to lay the land down in grass after a crop of wheat, and to mow it for even five years without manure, which is a sufficient proof of the fertility of the soil. At the expiration of this period the stumps of the hard wood are rotten, sufficiently to admit of the plough tearing up the roots without difficulty. The settler then completely clears his land, but the average crop will not then exceed twelve bushels per acre.

To assist the settlers, as those of Mr. Robinson's were assisted, is, undoubtedly, the most sure and certain means that could be devised for establishing the people and improving the country; and with such aid, and under ordinary circumstances, there can be no doubt but that, at the expiration of seven years, the settler could pay a quit rent of 3*l*. 10*s*. 9*d*. per annum. The French Canadian inhabitants, who occupy, for the most part, a soil of much inferior quality, pay annually 7*s*. 8*d*. currency, and four bushels of wheat, for one hundred and sixty acres, and receive no assistance from government; and, besides, there is an alienation fine of one-twelfth the value of the land at every transfer. But settlers who purchase land at 7*s*. 6*d*. and 10*s*. per acre, in almost all cases pay the whole prime cost in the course of seven years.

Page 25. He speaks of Lower Canada only, the soil of which

is in general a stiff clay, and when it has been granted in Seigneuries it is often covered with water, and requires to be drained before it can be brought into cultivation. On such lands, under Canadian culture, the produce is almost too trifling to be mentioned, hardly exceeding seven bushels per acre.

The tithe in Lower Canada is one twenty-sixth of the clear grain delivered, paid only by Roman Catholics, the Protestants paying no tithe. The French Canadian rarely employs labourers, and if he does, seldom gives more than five dollars per month, besides board, washing, and lodging. The grain cultivated is chiefly wheat, and is worth 4*s*. per bushel.

The method for settling the country adopted by the French Government was to give a large tract to an individual, who was to parcel it out in small farms—to lay out roads, and build mills and keep the peace; and for his trouble he retained, for each farm, 7*s*. 8*d*. per annum, four bushels of grain as a rent, with one-twelfth the gross value at each transfer, and the toll of the mills at which the inhabitants of the Seigneury were obliged to grind their corn, so that the rent had no reference to the value of the land or any other advantage. Page 25.

There are many applications for land from the native Canadian population; but emigrant settlers dislike the Canadian tenure, and the figure of the lots being a narrow front with great depth, makes it impossible to make a convenient farm. The European and American settler will rather purchase land at 7*s*. 6*d*. or 10*s*. per acre, and pay the same in the course of seven or eight years, with interest, at 6*l*. per cent.; such purchasers have no other capital, except steady habits of labour, not always one month's provision before-hand, and yet

their industry carries them through; and, although there is little money circulation in these new districts, yet they pay for their land either in money or produce. Were the system of emigration to be carried on extensively, it would create a market in the vicinity of the new settlements; and as the communications rapidly improve where settlements are made, the distant markets soon become accessible.

Page 27. There are, in Lower Canada, two millions of acres of fair quality in the power of the crown. One million on the south side of the St. Lawrence, and one million on the north of that river, between the rear of the French Seigneuries, and a chain of mountains running parallel with the St. Lawrence. In this he does not include Gaspé, where there may be 200,000 acres available.

Page 28. In regard to tithes, they can only be demanded by the priests legally within the Seigneuries, from their Roman Catholic communicants. The Protestants are also liable within these lordships to pay them; but the law does not say who is to collect them or to whom they shall be delivered, and, therefore, they have never been demanded of Protestants.

Page 29. The French Canadian population are unwilling to go into the new townships on account of being deprived of the consolations of their religion.

Page 29. In some years the navigation of the St. Lawrence is closed, from the 18th or 20th November, to the latter end of April; but the periods frequently vary; nor do the seasons become milder, for, on the 1st February, 1826, the thermometer was forty degrees below zero at Quebec. There is a constant steam-boat navigation between Quebec and Montreal, invessels of from 400 to 600 tons, for commerce and passengers; and in a short time all the commerce of the River St. Lawrence will

be thus carried on. It is to be feared that the project of applying steam to the navigation between Quebec and Halifax is abandoned; but it is very desirable, as Halifax may be considered the natural entrepôt between the Canadas and the West Indies.

The power and prosperity of Lower Canada would be materially increased by an access of population through a judicious emigration,—the opinion, indeed, prevails amongst many respectable men in the province, that the Canadian population require all the spare land; and it must be admitted, that they are too thickly placed on the land which they occupy, but that arises from the imperfection of the French law, dividing the property among all the children, by which estates are frittered into portions too small to support the proprietors. Page 30.

He is of opinion, that if an emigrant, at the expiration of the seven years, left his land, the improvement would be a sufficient security, and he would make no scruple to become responsible for all failures; for it is the interest of the settler to remain on the property he has cultivated.

Flax is sufficiently cultivated in Lower Canada, to clothe the majority of the inhabitants; and hemp might be cultivated to advantage, was not the labour too high in preparing it for market.

Mr. Hayes.

CHARLES HAYES, Esq., formed extensive iron-works in Upper Canada, at Marmora, in the middle district, and resided in the colony six years. Had no opportunity of seeing any of the settlers who came over under the superintendance of Mr. Robinson. He thinks that, although the people of the province of Upper Canada have great objections to rents of any kind, yet if the

Page 32. sum was definite, to be paid in seven or ten years, it would be more desirable; and that a settler of industrious habits could redeem much more than 3*l.* 10*s.* per annum. Mr. Hayes, therefore, suggests, that they should have the privilege of doing it as soon as they could.

Mr. Boulton. Page 33. Mr. Boulton, being asked what the effect was of raising the fees upon grants of land to settlers to 12*l.* upon 100 acres, and 30*l.* upon 200, answered, that it prevented persons from taking land to any extent. For persons representing themselves poor get 50 acres for nothing; and as there was no particular proof required, many who were able to pay the fees said that they were destitute, and got the paupers' allowance of 50 acres.

He thinks the amount of fees became such a discouragement to persons settling in the country that it was found necessary to reduce them. But he is of opinion, that, under another name, the same amount, or more, might be given; for, in the Michigan territory, in the United States, a dollar and a quarter per acre is readily paid to Government by settlers. It used formerly to Page 33. be granted on paying the purchase-money by instalments; but then the price was three dollars. Now the price is reduced, and no credit given. Mr. Boulton stated, that one of the difficulties of an emigrant in Upper Canada was, his having to go such a distance to the Land Office to get his grant; but afterwards admitted that this difficulty has been done away.

Dr. Strachan. Page 203. Dr. Strachan states, that the large fees above mentioned were to be paid in three instalments; but it did not affect the poor, and was soon discontinued,

because it was found not to answer the intended object, which was to remunerate government for the money advanced in purchasing the land from the Indians; he likewise mentioned, that the officers of government, employed in preparing grants, never received any advantage from the augmentation of fees, but received the same allowance for their services which had been fixed at the first settlement of the province. He likewise stated, that since 1818, when the emigration began to be very numerous, Sir Peregrine Maitland thought it would be inconvenient for so many to come to York, the seat of government, and therefore appointed land-boards in each district of the province, with power to give locations of 100 acres to all British subjects who could bring with them tolerable characters and recommendations. Page 203. Page 202.

GEORGE MARKLAND, Esq., is an Executive Councellor of Upper Canada, and a Canadian by birth; has not seen the emigrants of 1823, but understands that they are managing exceedingly well, and are comfortable and happy; he has no doubt but that the emigrants can pay at the end of seven years 3*l*. 10*s*. But thinks that it should always be insisted upon yearly, without its being allowed to accumulate into a large debt. So little reason is there for believing that an emigrant would forsake his improvement when the 3*l*. 10*s*. became due, that the produce of an acre of cleared land would more than doubly pay the rent. Upper Canada only wants people to render it of consequence, for the land is excellent and the climate admirable. Mr. Markland. Page 34. Page 35.

COLONEL JOHN READY, is Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward's Island, but has resided in Lower Ca- Colonel Ready. Page 35.

nada for five years as Secretary to the Governor-in-Chief. He concurs in Mr. Felton's testimony; and, having read the evidence of 1823 and 1825, is certainly of opinion that emigrants, at the expiration of seven years, would be able to pay without difficulty a quit-rent of 3*l.* 10*s.* 9*d.*, per annum. He has been in the district of Gaspé, and understands that there is in it a considerable proportion of very good land. He thinks that an emigration to Prince Edward's Island might be carried on at a less expense than to Upper Canada, because the transport is shorter; perhaps 2*l.* a-head might be saved in the passage alone, with the advantage of
Page 36. being placed on their land the day after their arrival: so that the whole expense from Quebec to the Upper Province would also be saved; and as no part of the island is above eight or ten miles from water-carriage, the settler would in all probability have a water-communication for his produce. The markets are Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Prince Edward's Island is more suitable for the growth of corn than for any other production, and the average is twenty bushels per acre. The climate is very healthy, the country dry and well-watered; but the ungranted land in the power of the crown does not exceed 25,000 acres. Colonel Ready, however, has reason to believe that many proprietors would be very willing to give up a large portion of their lands to the government, for the purpose of settlement, to the amount perhaps of 120,000 acres. He thinks that 50*l.* or 52*l.* would be sufficient to establish a family on their land in Prince Edward's Island: the quit-rent is 2*s.* per 100 acres, and rents demanded for the granted lands are from 5*l.* to 7*l.* per 100 acres.
Page 37. The returns made for the corn that is exported are West India produce, teas, British manufactured goods

of all descriptions; and from Newfoundland, rum and money.

Mr. Uniacke. Page 37.

RICHARD JOHN UNIACKE, Esq., one of His Majesty's Counsel, and Attorney-General for the Province of Nova Scotia, has read with great attention the evidence given before the Committees of 1823 and 1825, with respect to emigrations to Canada, and is of opinion that they may be conducted with greater advantage to Nova Scotia, because the passage will cost less, and the provisioning and providing for the settlers might be accomplished at less expense, perhaps one-third; he has frequently settled people himself, and is therefore well acquainted with the expense—and the difference between Nova Scotia would be at least one-half. Formerly, the passage from Scotland and Ireland to Nova Scotia was from 3*l.* 10*s.* to 4*l.*, including everything—it is now, by the operation of the laws, 10*l.* a-head; surgeons are required, and certain quantities of provisions, *&c.* These laws were no doubt founded on principles of humanity and benevolence, but in their operation they have been pernicious. The province of Nova Scotia could absorb every year from 1200 to 1500 emigrants. Sir James Kempt allotted land for settlers in Cape Breton, and immediately 300 came from the north of Scotland, whose passage did not exceed 2*l.* 10*s.*; for such people have a pound of oatmeal for every day that the captain calculates the passage; half this quantity for a child, half a pint of molasses, a little butter, and a few eggs. They pay the captain 30*s.* or 35*s.*, he finding them water. These people settled themselves on the land Sir James Kempt had allotted them, and I doubt whether there is in Page 39. Scotland so happy a set of people. Mr. Uniacke thinks

that any number of emigrants may be absorbed in Nova Scotia, if distributed judiciously, that is, not all thrown into one spot—even so many as from 15 to 20 thousand. When he speaks of Nova Scotia, he includes New Brunswick; for whatever applies to the one applies to the other: and he thinks that the two provinces would well provide for a population of four or five millions, taking advantage of the fishing, coupled with the agriculture. The single men would hire themselves to the farmers or fishers; and children are in great request. If the father and mother are unable to provide for them, they can always be provided for by putting them apprentices to farmers. The children are bound till of age, when of five years, or upwards. The farmer at the end of the first year gives the child a
Page 39. sheep, the second year a heifer-calf; and as long as that child is under indenture, he is bound to preserve and to keep that sheep and that heifer-calf, and all the produce of it, till the child comes of age, and then it becomes a portion for that child to settle with—if a female, in marriage; if a male, in forming stock. In fact, half
Page 40. the number of children can never be supplied that there is a demand for. Were, indeed, the population of Ireland allowed to go to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick as easily as to Newfoundland, they would go of themselves. They cannot collect 10*l.* or 12*l.* in money, but they might collect 30*s.* or 40*s.*; and with potatoes, a bag of oatmeal, and a few herrings, they are ready for the voyage. Flour and pork they are unacquainted with, and cannot use. A great number of persons connected with his family came to Nova Scotia, from the neighbourhood of Waterford and Cork. Lord Dalhousie gave him the charge of a settlement, on which he placed them; and they are now doing well, and are increased

to twenty-five families, and are yearly writing to their friends saying how comfortably they are placed; *and their friends raise heaven and earth to join them.* In order to acquire stock, they hire a cow or calf for 20*s.* in the spring, which cow they return in calf the following spring. The calf which they have obtained becomes a cow, and has calves; and so they gradually acquire cattle. They hire a sheep in the same way. Now these twenty-five families have sheep, cows, oxen, and horses.

In Nova Scotia, the lands are granted in common socage, reserving 2*s.* to the King for every 100 acres, in the shape of quit-rent. The settlers on witness's land pay the interest of the stipulated price in money or labour; in the same way the 3*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* might be considered the interest of the money spent in settling the emigrant: in which case he will pay it readily; but not willingly, in the shape of rent—and to secure it more effectually, an act might be passed to subject the land to the debt, whoever became purchasers. The principal markets are Newfoundland, Halifax, and St. John's, New Brunswick; a great deal of flour comes from Quebec to Halifax, and is exported to the West Indies, but it does not stand the West Indian climate so well as that which comes from the southern provinces. He is not so well acquainted with Upper as with Lower Canada. But the wheat raised in the latter province is a kind of red spring wheat, of an inferior quality. In Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, there may be about four millions of acres of ungranted land, but there is not more than the half of this good land. From twenty to twenty-eight bushels of wheat may be deemed the average crop per acre. American flour comes in great quantities to Halifax, and were it

Page 427.

Page 42.

Page 43.

allowed to be landed in the West Indies from British ships, free of duty, we should have the long voyage, and the Americans the short one. The great object is to draw as much of the American produce into the English territory as possible, and to strip them of the carriage; and therefore he considers that the exemption of duty would be beneficial to the trade of British shipping, without being injurious to the state of agriculture in the northern colonies;—our climate and soil are
Page 44. capable of producing wheat in as large a quantity per acre as any part of the United States;—and he is confident that we should take away, in a great measure, the trade of the United States with the West Indies, but at present we cannot make an assorted cargo. The West Indian says, I have only to send my order to Boston, and it will be executed; but if I send my order to Halifax, I know that I can only get it partially executed. In these colonies we have the finest grass crops;—the only inconvenience is, that we are obliged to feed our cattle longer by hand than in England and Ireland; in other respects we have the advantage. We can raise Indian corn in Nova Scotia, which cannot be done in England. Mr. Uniacke says, that it is not so cold in Nova Scotia as in England; the frost is indeed harder, but it is not hard frost that makes cold. He has been an agriculturist for thirty-five or thirty-six years—has cleared from the original forest upwards of one thousand acres, which he has now put in grass, but it was originally in grain. The fisheries might be increased to an indefinite extent, and the South American states open an immense market. We have the command of all the best fishing stations, and possess advantages over the Americans which they cannot overcome. The British or Newfoundland fish are pre-

ferred to the American;—nor would it be difficult to bring over the American fishers, and by such removal their navy would be knocked up. The American fish- Page 45.
ermen are more expert than ours, because they are much farther off, and are obliged to adopt more economical plans; but were they allowed to come with their vessels and fishing materials, and naturalised, they would bring their frugal habits with them, and our people, perceiving their advantage, would adopt them.

In these provinces coal is found in abundance. In Cape Breton there is a mine that has been worked ever since the French time, and is capable of supplying all Europe. There is a valuable mine at Picton;—one at Truro;—two near the Gass River;—one at Subinacady River;—two at Cumberland, and an immense mass of coal within the province of Nova Scotia. The United States will, in all probability, become tributary to us for coal, as their own coal is not so convenient.

He has heard of the remonstrances made in the House of Commons against maintaining the civil government of the North American colonies; and he is satisfied that the British North American provinces will very soon pay the expense, not only of their civil but their military establishments, and become an important market for the commodities of Great Britain, for they are nearly equal in trade, shipping and population to the United States at the commencement of the revolution in 1774. Every emigrant will consume at least three pounds worth of something from the mother-country every year, and consequently increase the imports; but what is still of greater consequence, established upon the principles of humanity, which the committee have in view, the settler will transmit to his posterity a degree of

affection for the parent state, which will never be obliterated.

Page 46. Emigrants can go to Newfoundland much cheaper than to Nova Scotia, because there are no restrictions. In consequence of this many go first to Newfoundland, and then pay twenty shillings to get to Halifax, and this they obtain by hiring themselves to the fishing for a season, or part of one. The distress and poverty existing in Newfoundland arise from a very bad system. The master fisher is called a planter: he hires fishermen for the season at the cheapest possible rate, and at the end of the season the greater number are thrown into St. John without any means. Newfoundland has also suffered great injury from an impediment thrown in the way of settlement upon the land. There is a great deal of land on the island capable of settlement, and valuable settlements may also be made upon

Page 47. the Labrador shore. On this coast there is a fine fishery, not above a quarter of a mile from land, to which the Americans send annually seven or eight hundred vessels. The Americans conduct their fishery upon a system far superior to ours, but they likewise interfere very much with our fishermen, by taking up their nets, &c. They employ eighty thousand, and we hardly twenty thousand, notwithstanding our greater advantages. The harbour of Halifax is one of the finest in the world, and in the circle of thirty leagues there is a succession of the most commodious harbours.

Mr. Felton. Page 47. Mr. FELTON believes, that the unoccupied cultivable acres in Lower Canada do not exceed nine millions, but thinks the province would sustain six millions of wheat consumers. Mr. Boulton believes, that six or seven millions would not be an over population for Upper

Canada; and he is of opinion that the North American British provinces would admit of a population of twenty-five or thirty millions beyond their present inhabitants.

The facilities, with respect to freight, should government be disposed to encourage emigration to the Canadas, are sufficient to convey (as Mr. Felton states) sixty thousand souls, without inconvenience. The casual emigration is about ten thousand souls, of which not more than five hundred remain in Lower Canada, and one thousand five hundred in Upper Canada, as far as his information goes. He accounts for this, on the ground of their coming without characters, and the colonists have no disposition to assist in their location. Wages are better in the United States, in consequence of the carrying on of public works; and many have friends and connexions in that country: but the emigrants of 1823 and 1825, from the benefits which they received from government, had no inducement to go away. He thinks, that, after adopting sufficient preliminary means, from twenty to thirty thousand souls, or from five to seven thousand heads of families, might be located in Lower Canada with advantage in 1827. The preparations are, the survey of lands for their reception, opening roads and depôts of provisions. The provisions for a family of four persons would cost 20*l.*; but an extended scale of emigration would increase the facility without increasing the expenditure; and he adheres to his opinion, that, with proper preliminary measures, twenty thousand could be advantageously received in 1827, and they would be of great advantage to the province. He thinks that the six millions which he said, on a former day, the province could sustain, may be gradually, as conveniently, located as the

Page 48. April 6.

Page 48.

Page 49.

twenty thousand in question. The ulterior settlements would necessarily be more remote; but the advantage of good roads and dense settlement would be a full equivalent; add to this, that a useful direction would then be given to Colonial emigration. *They would follow their friends and relatives sent out by Government, and this without putting the public to any expense, and indeed without much expense to their friends, for the demand for labour will be greatly increased.*

Mr. Boulton. Page 50.

In regard to Upper Canada, Mr. BOULTON thinks that 25,000 could be received in 1827 as easily as 2000 in 1825, and concurs with Mr. Felton as to the preliminary arrangements. *He is of opinion, that, after a certain period, emigration would carry on itself;* for, if people were to come from every parish in Ireland and find themselves comfortable, they would write to their friends, and each *nucleus* of emigrants would have, as it were, a phalanx of friends to whom might be consigned the redundant population. Mr. Boulton urges the propriety of allowing, duty free, the importation of American flour into Canada for re-exportation, upon much the same arguments as were used by Mr. Uniacke; and in this Mr. Felton concurs on similar grounds. And he further states, that, on introducing 20,000 new settlers, there will be in the first year an increase of consumers beyond the increase of produce. In the second year it would make no difference, for, on the expiration of the first year, every new settler can support himself. Under favourable circumstances the man may, at the expiration of the third year, have something to spare, but we have no right to assume that he will—it is fair to assume that he will be five years before he has any thing to spare. The example that

Pages 50, 51, 52.

Page 56.

Page 56.

Mr. Felton submits, assumes that the labourer is placed under the worst possible circumstances, and that he can merely raise provisions for his support till the expiration of seven years; but he knows practically that every settler is able to obtain so much surplus produce at the expiration of two or three years, as to pay the debt which he contracts with the neighbouring shopkeeper for the little conveniences which he requires, of pots, and kettles, and blankets, and so forth, but he usually pays it in the shape of pot and pearl ashes, which are made by the settler when, if he were not so occupied, he would be idling over his fire: it is done by extra exertion.

Mr. FELTON thinks that there will be no surplus produce to export while emigration continues on a large scale; but at the expiration of a certain period, when emigration ceases, there will be an increasing quantity of agricultural produce for exportation. At present it is as much as Lower Canada can do to feed her own population, for the quantity of wheat exported by a population of 370,000 souls does not exceed two bushels per head, or 740,000; and they are in the mean time compelled to resort to the United States for supplies of salt provisions. It must, indeed, be admitted, that this disproportion of the produce is principally attributable to the density of population upon an exhausted soil, and must be confined to the French inhabitants. These observations have respect only to Lower Canada; but the circumstances of the Upper Province and that portion of the Lower Province held in fee and common socage being similar, he is of opinion that, when emigration shall cease, the surplus produce of these countries will be much beyond anything which the popula-

Mr. Felton. Page 57.

Page 58.

tion will be able to consume. Assuming that there will be a surplus in consequence of the cessation of emigration, then if Great Britain is desirous that the people of the colonies shall clothe themselves with her manufactures, she must receive their produce, or they must manufacture for themselves; but he feels assured that if this emigration be commenced under favourable auspices, and be conducted with discretion and judgment, the increase of population will be such as to absorb all the surplus agricultural produce of the Canadas for many years to come. Mr. Felton states again his rea-
Page 60. son why American flour should be admitted into Canada free of duty for exportation, and considers it very easy to prevent its importation for home consumption; for it is next to impossible to smuggle any part of a cargo, even a barrel of flour, into the province, as the whole must come by water-carriage. The encouragement of British shipping and commerce would be great by the admission of American flour; but, exclusive of this, the colonies are useful in affording an asylum to the surplus population of Great Britain and Ireland, and in contri-
buting to the maritime strength of the empire. Besides, the colonies would by this step be enabled to engross
Page 62. all the trade of the West Indies, both in provisions and timber. He is persuaded, that the whole supply of the West Indies might be furnished through the St. Lawrence; and he looks forward with perfect confidence
Page 63. to the period when the flour of Upper and Lower Canada will be equal to meet the American flour on equal terms in any part of the world. At present he relies upon the Gennesee flour, were the duty taken off, to furnish the West Indies; but Upper Canada being much more extensive than the Gennesee district, there can be no doubt that, when it is perfectly settled and

cultivated, its produce will come into the market on better terms than that of the Gennesee, to which it is equal in quality.

Mr. UNIACKE being again called in, said, that the fisheries are capable of absorbing more agricultural produce than the Canadas can furnish for a hundred years, as the fisheries are an establishment that can be increased to any extent, for the market is unbounded. There are employed in the fisheries fifty thousand men, each of whom often require two or three barrels for their present supply, therefore the colonies are not able to supply any thing like the quantity required. At present the fisheries are chiefly supplied from the produce of the United States, paying a duty of 5s. per barrel: they receive a partial supply from Canada, but very small in proportion to their consumption; and Ireland furnishes beef, pork, and butter. Mr. Uniacke. Page 63.

Mr. BOULTON being called in, stated, that he had heard the emigrants notice, as one great advantage which they enjoyed in Upper Canada, that they had no tithes to pay, and that there was no distinction between one religious party and the other: they were free from any thing of that kind; and this absence of disqualification, on the ground of religion, weighed upon their minds in creating a feeling of gratification with their location in Canada. There are, indeed, no disqualifications on account of religion in the Canadas of any description. Mr. Boulton. Page 64.

Mr. UNIACKE stated, that the fisheries of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick employed about twenty thousand men. The fisheries are conducted by capi- Mr. Uniacke. Page 64. 11 April.

talists or individuals. The capitalist commonly uses vessels from forty to one hundred tons, and employs men at wages. There is another description of fishing carried on in boats near the shore, by persons who fish a great part of the summer, and at the same time
Page 65. carry on some small cultivation upon land. But none of the fisheries are carried on upon shares, as in the United States. In that country the owner of the vessel finds the ship, salt, and provisions; the men, the lines and the labour; and they divide the proceeds on the return of the vessel. Fish are termed green while they remain undried. The whole fishery of the United States is carried on upon shares: in whaleing it is the case; every man has his share, which depends upon the success of the voyage; and it is far the best system, yet several attempts to introduce it in the British fisheries have failed; the people prefer wages. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick may produce from two hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand quintals of fish, and about two hundred and fifty thousand barrels. The quintal consists of one hundred pounds, not one hundred and twelve pounds: the barrel contains thirty-two gallons. The principal market for barrelled fish is the United States and the West Indies; the dried fish go to the Mediterranean, to Spain and Portugal, and the inferior to the West Indies; but there is now a great demand for dried fish in South America. Formerly a large portion of the fish im-
Page 66. ported into Spain and Portugal was re-shipped to their colonies in America; but now that these colonies are free, the fish go the direct course. The deranged state of the governments of South America makes the market less advantageous than it will be when things are settled; but he is of opinion that the markets for

fish will increase as rapidly as we can increase the fishery. The Americans have no fishing ground of any consequence if they were excluded from our ground, and are so remote from the fishing, that we can make four voyages for their two; but they have advantages which make up; to them the whole world is open, and we are restricted. They get provisions cheaper, and coarse manufactures, such as fishermen use; while we depend on Great Britain. They are allowed to import hemp free from duty, from which they make lines and cordage; whereas hemp with us is subject to duty, which presses heavily on the fisheries and colonial navigation. The repeal of commercial restrictions is too recent to feel their effects, but they soon must be advantageous.

Mr. Uniacke does not believe that the difference between the coarse manufactures of the United States and those of England, with the exception of, perhaps, boots and shoes, will make it an object to prefer the former. In regard to the inhabitants of the Scilly Islands, he is of opinion that they might be removed with advantage to the Coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. They might be conveniently settled at Louisburg, which has a fine harbour, and is situated very advantageously for the fishery. A great number of Scotch fishermen have already gone to that country, where they carry on the herring and mackarel fishery, which does not require sea-vessels, but is carried on along the shore. The Bras d'Or Lake in Cape Breton, Canso, and the north side of Prince Edward's Island, are all particularly adapted for receiving colonies of that description. The fishing season in Newfoundland continues from the beginning of April to November; and during the winter months the fishermen are em-

Page 67.

Page 68.

ployed in repairing their boats, and, with their wives and children, in making and mending their nets.

Page 69. The fishermen of Nova Scotia are much better off in winter than those of Newfoundland, because they have land, or greater means of employment; but the Act recently passed, permitting colonization in Newfoundland, and introducing better regulations between the planter and fishermen, will diminish the distress hitherto experienced by the fishermen on that island.

Mr. Uniacke doubts whether fishermen could give security for the payment of the interest of the money spent in taking them out, as they are a wandering description of people, and not fixed like agriculturists; but he is of opinion, that those sent out would be able, by one year's labour, to pay the expense, if it was so adjusted that their employers engaged to pay it.

Page 70. The fishermen should be sent out in the autumn, that they may have the winter to prepare for the ensuing fishery, as a good deal of preparation is necessary. In regard to these men, the expense of transport would be all that is necessary, for he knows a tract of country

Page 71. upon the eastern shore of Nova Scotia, where there were not twenty-five families, and now there are one thousand five hundred who have settled there, with a few exceptions, at their own expense; and the emigration was proceeding, till the new regulations made the expense of passage so great, as to put an end to it; but were the Act enforcing these regulations repealed, the emigration might again be resumed. And were each captain of a vessel to get 20*s.* or 10*s.* of premium for every passenger landed on the colonies in good health, it would be far better than the Parliamentary regulations. *Voluntary emi-*

Page 72. *gration is the thing that will remove the redundant*

population in this country; and, if there were no obstructions, it would resume its former standard. The system of voluntary emigration used formerly to be conducted thus: those who could pay their passage out, went at once; those who could not, were called Redemptioners, and agreed to pay, on their arrival in Nova Scotia, 40*s.* or 3*l.*; but, if they could not raise the money, the captain was at liberty to bind them for two or three years to some person willing to pay the sum agreed for. He has known Germans, and others, who, have come out in this way, with 30*l.* or 40*l.* in their pockets, and served two or three years to persons for advancing their passage-money, that they might become acquainted with the country before they set up for themselves.

WALTER FREDERICK CAMPBELL, Esq., M.P., is acquainted with the northern part of the Hebrides, where the population may be said to be redundant; they are employed in fishing and manufacturing kelp; he alludes chiefly to Tiree, Coll, Rum, and Mull, and the adjacent main land. The proprietors, instead of receiving rents, are, in times of scarcity, obliged to support the population; but, if they were removed, farms might be enlarged instead of being divided; for, at present, a farmer, having sixty or a hundred acres of arable land, will give to each of his three or four sons, when they marry, a portion of his farm. These sons again divide, till the produce of the farm is insufficient to support the families living on it. The proprietors have, indeed, the power of preventing sub-letting, and Mr. Campbell has strictly forbidden it; but where the proprietors are not resident, divisions are more particularly carried on. There is a sort of affection in that country between

Mr. W. F. Campbell, M.P. Page 73. 13 April.

Page 74.

landlord and tenant that would prevent the former from contributing for the removal of the latter, notwithstanding the inconvenience, unless it were clearly for his advantage. But if the redundant population were once removed, the landlords have suffered too much to admit of subdivisions in future. He has relieved himself, by persuading them to give up their land, and reside in villages with land enough for potatoes and a cow's grass; but some refuse to give up their farms: in such cases he would have been glad to have got them to emigrate, and would have advanced a moderate sum of money for the purpose, provided
Page 75. the bonus held out to them was advantageous, how much he cannot say; in some instances he might have given 3*l.* each; but his situation is more favourable than that of many other proprietors, who would be induced to give more than he would. The disposition of many of the people is towards emigration; they would, in many instances, move heaven and earth to scrape the money together, if the landlord did not; and, as they have generally a cow and yearly calf, they would make up about 3*l.* each family, towards the expense. They are farmers as well as fishermen, but they pay their rent chiefly by making kelp: each family in Tiree makes about two tons, for which they receive at the rate of 2*l.* 10*s.* or 3*l.* A tolerably good cod and ling fishery was established by Mr. Campbell's father, and a herring fishery by himself, which are
Page 76. encouraged very much by the bounty. There is at present a certain degree of prejudice against emigration, *as some had emigrated to America under speculators who took their little property from them, and having nothing to begin upon, could neither get land nor money, and returned completely beggars; but if*

the bonus held out to them was such, that they had a chance of being made comfortable by their own labour, they would receive it as a very great boon.—By the term bonus, I mean receiving land and work.

Sir HUGH INNES, Bart., M.P., is not aware of any particular distress among the population of his own neighbourhood, but believes it exists in the manufacturing districts. The population of the district of which Sir Hugh speaks, is rather likely to become redundant than is so now. The people do not at present suffer much from want of food, which consists of oatmeal, potatoes, and herrings. They are chiefly dependent upon the fisheries, which cannot, he thinks, be much further extended. This observation more particularly relates to Lochalsh and Kintail. The inhabitants sell their herring, and buy meal; and the manufacturers of kelp import meal, which they pay their kelpers with in part, and in part money. Their habitations are, on the whole, comfortable. There is no poor-rate, but there is a small sum to distribute among the poor. The Society for British Fisheries gave an allotment of land to each occupant in their villages, consisting of one acre, for a garden, and a cow's grass. Nor does he think that this land withdraws the occupant from his fishing. Formerly the inhabitants subsisted more on the produce of land than latterly; but within the last thirty years the country has become more of a sheep country: to this, witness has himself contributed by establishing fishing stations; and the fisheries have tended to attract people to the coast. About two years ago there was a disposition to emigrate, and he took the liberty to suggest to his Majesty's Government, the making an allowance for their transport. Near one

Sir Hugh Innes, Bt. Page 78.

Page 79.

thousand persons went from the western coast, or, rather, from four to five parishes, of which some carried from 50*l.* to 150*l.* They went from choice; for a man in that country with 150*l.* may live very comfortably. The rise of rent may have operated a little; but
Page 80. chiefly the change from black cattle to sheep. He does not think that the landlords in that part of Scotland would contribute anything towards promoting emigration.

Mr. G. M'Pherson. George M'Pherson, Esq., M.P., is not aware of any redundant population in the part of Scotland with which he is acquainted. It would be an advantage to him to convert his property into sheep-farms; but his feelings towards his tenants prevent him from removing them; and they live comfortably as regards their feelings, and are satisfied with oatmeal and potatoes. About a dozen, possessed of some property, emigrated from his lands about seventeen years ago; but in four years they returned disappointed, having lost their little property, which might amount to about 30*l.* or
Page 81. 40*l.* each.

Mr. Boulton. Page 81. Mr. Boulton has read Mr. Felton's evidence, and made some notes upon it. He agrees decidedly in the propriety of limiting the introduction of the wheat of the United States through Lower Canada and Upper Canada also. He agrees also with Mr. Felton in desiring the free admission of American flour.

Mr. Chambers Page 83. Robert James Chambers, Esq., is a police magistrate in the Borough of Southwark, a populous part of London. He is of opinion that a system of emigration would be productive of great benefit, for London is too full of children. The increase of juvenile of-

fences he attributes to this—to the want of employment for children, and their discharge from the ships or docks. By children, he means from twelve to twenty years of age, both male and female:—during the war the ratio of juvenile delinquency was not so great, as a great number of children were employed on board ships of war.

JOHN WILKS, Esq., the vestry clerk of St. Luke's, says, that among the pauper poor it is probable a considerable number would gladly send their children to Canada under the protection of government, to be provided for, and to relieve themselves from a burthen, which the increasing population of London, and the decreasing call for labour, render it difficult for them to sustain; and he thinks that the parishes in London which are in the habit of giving *5l.* for apprentice fee, would very willingly facilitate the emigration of children. If there were an emigration from this country to Canada, the children might be apprenticed for five or seven years; it would be a great relief, and the parishes would contribute something towards it. He thinks that if the child and the parents were made aware that the child would receive a portion of land at the end of five or seven years, it would be a great inducement to go. He believes that the expenses would not be more than the parishes are willing to give. Many of these children are orphans and bastards, without any person to look after them—the consequence would be, a great diminution of infant crime. Besides pauper children from workhouses, he thinks that if parents saw that government was going to take their children under their protection, and that there was a prospect of their future welfare, they would be glad

Mr. Wilks

Page 85.

Page 86.

to offer their children for that purpose. He is also of opinion that the parishes would contribute to the removal of such children as are likely to become chargeable to them hereafter, and as population increases, emigration ought to keep pace with it Emigration is, indeed, absolutely necessary for the welfare of the state; and if it were encouraged instead of being checked, scarcely any would abandon their country, but those who cannot find maintenance in it. As soon as emigration became so great as to leave the means of subsistence easy and plentiful to those that remain, it would naturally cease. The only good law against emigration is that which Nature has engraven on every heart.

Mr. Carlisle. Page 87.

Mr. FREDERICK CARLISLE is a resident at the Cape of Good Hope, where he has lived six years in the neighbourhood of Graham's town, district of Albany, and has been sent home to hire labourers, who are to receive at the rate of 12*l.* per annum, and their provisions, with a free passage, but no clothing:—he does not know how many Mr. Ingram took out, nor their condition, but they have remained chiefly in the neighbourhood of Cape town, and are employed as labourers and mechanics; mechanics get 10*s.* per day, and labourers 4*s.* or 5*s.*, and their support will cost 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* per day; and 3*s.* per day would include clothing; so that a labourer would clear 1*s.* per day. Their food consists of flesh meat of all kinds, good bread, and vegetables in abundance. The average expense of taking a man or woman from Ireland is about 15*l.* The climate is good, but the Dutch generally have slaves and Hottentots, and seldom employ English or Irish. The wages offered by the settlers to persons going out do

not approach near to the wages already given, and five hundred labourers going out, would have the immediate effect of lowering wages, but the depression would not continue. At the same time the settlers will not agree to pay the labourers sent out the wages that are at present given in the colony.

The number of women that might be taken out annually, might be from sixty to eighty, who would receive about 15*s*. per month, including provisions. He states, that unless the settlers can hire the labourers cheap, they would only employ three, where they have subscribed for ten, at the low rate of wages. Page 89.

Mr. EDWARD EAGER is the author of a pamphlet, entitled "Letters" to the Right Honourable Robert Peel, on the advantages of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, as penal settlements, and as colonies for the reception of poor emigrants." He calculates that a man, his wife, and three children, can be conveyed from England to New South Wales, and be located there for 150*l*.; and he proposes, prior to the reception of these emigrants, that convicts should be employed in building houses and inclosing locations for them; for as the convicts must be supported, this would not increase the expense to government. Mr. Eager. 18 April. Page 91. Page 93.

At the time of writing his pamphlet, ten thousand convicts might have been so employed; and still five thousand, without interfering with their present employment, might be occupied in such labour. He proposes that a loan should be raised, bearing four per cent. interest, to be secured by stock created on the parish rates, and guaranteed by parliament, and that the rest of the expense should be reimbursed by the emigrants in the shape of rent, at the rate of 10*l*. for

each farm, to commence at the end of the third year. He proposes that farms of thirty acres shall be prepared for the settler; that is, a house built of certain dimensions, and a certain quantity cleared and fenced, that the settler may begin cultivating when he arrives, and that no rent be charged till he is enabled by profitable cultivation, which he thinks from experience will be at the end of the third year.

He gives the produce of maize at twenty-five bushels, of wheat sixteen bushels, of rye and barley twenty
Page 95. bushels; and upon virgin-land thirty of maize, twenty of wheat, and twenty-five of barley and rice; and he values them at 7*s.* for wheat, 3*s.* 6*d.* for maize, and 3*s.* for barley. Provisions cannot be imported at prices so low as these, for the colonists can supply His Majesty's magazines with beef at 3*d.* per lb., pork at 4*d.*, wheat at 7*s.*, maize at 3*s.* 6*d.*, per bushel; prices at which these articles cannot be, and never will be, imported. Surplus wheat cannot be exported from New South
Page 97. Wales to any other country, because the Indian market for the supply of rice and grain comes so immediately into competition with it; nor does he think the colony calculated to be a grain country; but the soil and climate are perfectly suited for other productions, such as, wine, vegetable oils, flax, hemp, and tobacco. He does not think it desirable that New South Wales should manufacture the coarsest articles of manufactures, as they can be imported much cheaper. Two or three gentlemen have manufactured the coarse wool of their own estates for their own use, but it is more expensive than a superior article from England. The protection which he deems necessary to be given to the infant-produce of New South Wales, such as hemp, flax,
Page 97. tobacco, is a remission of the duties. The colony also

affords linseed, bark, and hides, and whale-oil; but it is so new, that notwithstanding the great fluctuation in the price of corn, it was only lately that emigrants began to come; and now they are trying other crops.

In his estimate, Mr. Eager supposes the rent of 10*l.* to be paid by the emigrant perpetual, though it may be remitted should Government choose. There is not sufficient employment for free labour; it is considerably more than the demand. In the town of Sydney the wages fluctuate, the labourer getting sometimes 3*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*s.* 6*d.*, or 2*s.*; and he supposes that unless emigrants went out with capital, they would not do at all. But were the assistance given that he proposes, they might be considered small capitalists. Page 92.

The duties on hemp and flax are so trifling, that he thinks it would be no object to remove them; and a reduction of 1*s.* on tobacco he deems sufficient. With these advantages, and the cheapness of labour, and suitableness of the soil for these articles, he is certain that they might be cultivated to advantage.

Mr. Henry Bliss, Agent for the Province of New Brunswick, concurs with Mr. Uniacke in the general expediency of emigration, and the advantage of extending it to Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; but he does not agree with him in thinking the winter not severe, though he does not believe that this severity is any impediment to settlement. With respect to the number of emigrants that Mr. Uniacke says Nova Scotia might absorb, Mr. Bliss thinks him mistaken; because a great number do arrive at different parts, many of whom do not remain in the province; and he thinks that all those who go away are supernumeraries, whom the country cannot absorb *without the assistance* Mr. Bliss. Page 101. 18 April.

of capital. He believes that any person who is provided with capital enough to enable him to go into the woods, and to get a log-hut, and support for the first year, will certainly succeed if he is industrious; and he thinks that to New Brunswick the emigration might be extended with greater advantages than to any other colony; the passage is shorter, and opportunities more frequent than to Nova Scotia. Moreover, New Brunswick offers a larger quantity of vacant land than Nova Scotia, of a good description, and excellent situations. One of the greatest obstacles in a new country, is the want of roads, and difficulty of making them; but so universal is the water-communication throughout this province, that lots may be easily laid out upon or near some stream, which, besides supplying the want of roads, may afford convenient seats for mills, and fish for the settlers' support. The winter is colder, but the summer is warmer, than in Nova Scotia; nor is the severity of the winter any hinderance to the labour of the emigrant. On the contrary, the snow makes fine roads over the whole country; and as the frost continues uninterrupted, it gives him a great advantage in clearing his land. The settler buys cheap, if not cheaper, and sells dearer, than in the other colonies. The provincial legislature appropriates money every year for repairing and improving roads, and for giving a bounty to the settler for the first crop of corn raised upon his land. From these and other circumstances, and from witnessing the success of numerous emigrants, he has no doubt but the settler can, after seven years, repay the Government the charge incurred in his settlement; or, if he do not, that his improved lot is a sufficient security.

Page 112. Mr. Bliss's second evidence.

Mechanics, of all kinds, would find sufficient employ-

ment in the province, particularly carpenters and masons, who would receive wages from six to ten shillings per day; such emigrants require nothing but the expense of their passage, which they might repay in a twelvemonth.

The colonists have been able to exchange their trees with the mother-country for her manufactures; their fish with the West Indies for sugar, rum, and gold and silver; and even their stones for bread with the United States.

As to the colonies making provision for their civil and military establishments, if it were thought necessary by his Majesty's Government, they might assume the civil list; though not without inconvenience, and it were to be regretted, on many accounts, if such a requisition were at present made. It is but a small sum for Great Britain to pay, (for New Brunswick 7000*l.*) but important for the colony to receive. Were it withdrawn, too much of the provincial revenue would be diverted from the making of roads and bridges, improving the navigation of rivers, cutting canals, establishing schools,—objects of primary necessity in the planting of a new country, to which that revenue is now particularly devoted. The advancement of the colony would be retarded, and a check be given to the increase of consumption and importation, and the mother-country would lose more on the one hand than she would gain by saving on the other. Besides, the payment of the civil list is an important link in the connexion between the parent state and the colony; and if not the most powerful, is not the least alluring. I am far from insinuating that the connexion of the colony with the mother-country is to be principally valued for such a reason. The just and liberal go-

vernment of Great Britain has established this connexion by the ties of interest as well as affection, and it is the hope and wish of the colonies that it may long continue. Thus the emigrant, instead of a pauper becomes a proprietor, instead of hearing the revolting doctrine of checking population, every thing about him encourages the principle more consistent with the first law of nature, and the first precept of revelation, to increase and multiply. He leaves a sufficient provision for his children, and even grows rich with the growth of the province. He earnestly hopes, that the proposed plan will be executed on an extensive scale, and believes it will add to the stock of national wealth and human happiness.

Sir Robt. Wilson.

Sir ROBERT WILSON, M. P., a member of the Company incorporated for the occupation of lands in Colombia, says, the voyage to Colombia takes forty days, and reckons the expense for a man 15*l.*, for a woman the same, children at fourteen years and under, 10*l.*, and at seven and under, 7*l.* 10*s.* The Company are prepared to make a certain portion of the land ready for settlers, and to build their houses; but besides assistance towards the passage, Sir Robert submits that the first expense of maintenance should not come upon the Company. The settlers require six months' provisions before the crops would be ready to maintain them, and if advanced by the Company must be repaid by the emigrant. The reports from the colony are very favourable, as to soil, fertility, and produce, and convenience of markets, which insure the immediate sale of the articles raised either for home consumption or exportation; and he believes that the settlers will be fully equal, not only to pay

Page 102.

the advance made in placing them on their lands, but also their passage out, and which they have hitherto engaged to do. After mentioning the different markets Page 103.
to which the settlers will have access, Sir Robert Wilson says, that, exclusive of the expense of freight, the provisioning of the settler would be 15*d.* a-head per day for six months; but this the Company expects the settler to repay. Many would not require it, or would purchase provisions for themselves; for the province of Maracaybo, in which the proposed settlement is situated, contains one hundred and seventy-five thousand inhabitants, so that the emigrants are not going to a wilderness, but to a country partially inhabited. There is no difficulty in finding provisions to purchase; there is also fish in abundance in the lake, which is one hundred and fifty miles long, and ninety miles broad, in which vessels of any description may float. Sir Robert Wilson adds, that he is desired by the minister of Colombia to state, that according to instructions received from his government, he is most anxious to aid in every way, and to pledge the support of his government for the establishment of such settlers as either Government, or the Company under direction of the Government, may send out. He decidedly thinks, that the Maltese would be serviceable for the purpose of settlement in Colombia, from their labo- Page 103.
rious habits, sobriety of conduct, and capacity to resist the effects of a warm climate. He is not authorized to affirm, that the money employed in the transport and location of those settlers would be repaid by progressive instalments by the Company and the Colombian Government; but he thinks, that there would be Page 103.
no difficulty in making some conjoint engagement for that purpose. As to the number of settlers, the

Company would be anxious not to crowd them in the first instance: they have two hundred thousand acres of land at Gibraltar, near the lake, and shall have houses ready for three hundred settlers in November, when settlers ought to arrive in the country; but if a successive supply could be insured, buildings and lands could be prepared for any number that could be sent out. The lands belonging to the Company do not come down to the Lake of Maracaybo, but they have a navigable river, or a river that may be made navigable, running through the lands into the lake, and which would be useful for general trade, and the transport of mahogany and cedar, of which there is abundance in the neighbourhood. The Association has a million of acres at its disposition, but is desirous first to settle the district of Maracaybo, as the most conveniently situated. Free blacks would be very acceptable as settlers, as there is a scarcity of labouring population in the neighbouring districts, and they would be received on the same principle as the Maltese, namely, the repayment by the emigrant himself of the money advanced for his removal.

Mr. C. Stuart.

Mr. CHARLES STUART is Secretary to the Colombian Agricultural Association, and entirely agrees with Sir Robert Wilson, except that Jamaica is only eight, not ten days' sail from Maracaybo. He has no doubt but that it would be very agreeable to the Association to receive free blacks, because they are acquainted with the mode of cultivation pursued in the British West India Islands.

Page 104.

Lt. Col. Sorell.

Lieutenant-Colonel WILLIAM SORELL was lately Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land: he has

read attentively Mr. Eager's pamphlet, and thinks the same observations apply generally to both, it being remembered that Van Diemen's Land is a more limited country. With the assistance, proposed by Mr. Eager, Page 104. he thinks that a settler, accustomed to agricultural labour, would be able to pay a rent, not in money, but in produce; for the uncertainty of the markets, and Page 105. the necessity of paying rent at a precise period, would make it impossible for the settler always to raise the money to meet the demand, but he would have no difficulty in paying it in produce. He thinks, that no practical difficulty would arise from Government taking the produce at a certain money value, that is, at the price of the Government contract. He does not think that the plan would succeed with persons not bred to agricultural occupations. There is a demand in Van Diemen's Land for mechanics, men capable of building, and such as are useful in a new country. Colonel Sorell further states, that if the produce bore a remunerating price, a man capable of working a farm would be able, at the end of the third year, to pay a rent of 10*l.* in produce. Nor does he conceive that there would be any repugnance to pay rent, as appears to be the case in Upper Canada, because rents are paid in both New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. A great many of the farms have been sold, and have passed into landlords' hands, who now let them at a rent payable in produce of so many bushels of wheat a year: perhaps, one-half of the small tillage farms are so rented. Failure in the wheat crop is almost unknown in Van Diemen's Land, though it was last year partially the case, owing to late sowing and an unusually dry spring. In the seven years of his government there was always a surplus, after meeting the

demand of an increasing population, from free emigration and importation of convicts, and a considerable
Page 106. export took place to Sydney, and, partially, to this province, the Isle of France, and the Cape of Good Hope. Taking the two colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land together, the produce has been for many years more than sufficient for their subsistence. The climate of Van Diemen's Land does not admit of tropical productions; maize does not ripen; good tobacco has been produced; flax is on trial; wool
Page 106. may doubtless be improved to a fine quality; potatoes are raised of the finest kind; and hops succeed well. The exports to the mother-country are limited to wool, oil, skins, and tannin timber. Van Diemen's Land is better calculated for the production of wheat than New South Wales.

The want of mechanics is very great, and he thinks that many settlers would be pleased to receive them on indenture, and if their services were secured, there would be no difficulty in a pecuniary point of view; but mechanics might save one-fourth: and on the supposition that their wages amount to *5s.* per day, and that their passage out, including wives and children, is
Page 107. 90*l.*, the whole would be repaid in four or five years. Though he has little knowledge of New South Wales, he thinks that his observations and opinions, generally, with some local exceptions, will apply to both. Agricultural emigrants may succeed equally in either, and mechanics were in great demand in both. In regard to employing convicts in the clearing of lands, and in other occupations remote from towns, it is obviously one of the best things that can be desired, not only for its usefulness, but as promoting their reformation. He considers, that emigration to New South Wales is unli-

mited; in Van Diemen's Land it would have its limits; but there is no difficulty, except the length of the voyage, and the expenses of it, that may not be got over; provided all those who are placed upon lands are of the class fitted by habit for agricultural occupation.

Mr. EDWARD EAGER, being again called, corroborated Colonel Sorell's testimony; he then repeated his former evidence respecting the productions of New South Wales, the excellence of their climate, and the ability of mechanics and settlers to repay the money expended on their settlement. Having entered into a detailed account of their propriety of sending out women to the colony, as they are few in number, compared to the men, he comes to the conclusion, that if a certain number of females were properly selected and sent over, and confided to the care of Government, individuals would be ready and willing to marry them on the terms of furnishing, by instalments, the repayment of the expense of their passage. Mr. Eager. Pages 108, 109, 110, 111.

EDWARD JEREMIAH CURTEIS, Esq., acts as Assistant Chairman at the Sessions of Sussex, and has been a Magistrate for nearly forty years, and is, consequently, well acquainted with the county. He thinks that there is a superfluity of labouring population; but does not go the length of saying that it is unnecessary: he ascribes this superfluity to four causes; three temporary and one permanent. The temporary causes are the failure of the country banks; second, the great mortality among sheep; third, the total failure of the hop crop last year. The permanent cause, the quantity of land which has gone out of cultivation from the want of capital, and the consequent distress Mr. Curteis.

and decay of the farmer; but if the land were full of cultivation, as formerly, and there were capital, there are not, in his opinion, more labourers than are required. Still everybody would say, that there was a great redundance of labourers, at this time, in the eastern part of Sussex. He does not think that the wages of labour are unnecessarily paid by the poor-rate, though they are, in some degree, inevitably so paid; for both Magistrates and Overseers keep up the price of labour as much as possible.

The labourers receive relief as a matter of course, if they have more than three children; in some parishes, if they have more than two. In most parishes, they are expected to maintain three; and it is quite a matter of course, that if a man has three children he takes relief, whether he be able to support them or not, for there is no longer any shame in being upon the poor-rates.

Mr. Curteis thinks that the labourers would be disposed to emigrate. The parishes frequently encourage them by an advance in money to the amount of 30*l.* and 40*l.*, to get rid of families, but many have returned, perhaps one-fourth, and the parishes are now unwilling to contribute. He thinks that the parishes would be willing to mortgage their poor-rates, on repayment of the whole, or part of the sum advanced for such labourers as were disposed to emigrate; but it would
Page 115. be salutary to pass an act, depriving the labourer of support from the parish in case of return. He does not think that any great number of Irish labourers come into Sussex; during the harvest, a great concourse come from all quarters, but he considers them necessary; at the same time they no doubt lower the price of labour. Upon the subject of emigration, the clerk of the petty sessions writes—"Emigrants occasionally

return, but not in great numbers; much the greater part remain abroad; and it would relieve our country if emigration could be encouraged, because it is generally the worst of people that wish to go; I mean the idle, and those who are unwilling or unable to work." Page 116.

Mr. Selmes, a farmer in East Sussex, who rents land beyond 3000*l.* per annum, conceives the subject of emigration to be deserving of the most serious attention of government; for unless the parishes are relieved of the surplus labourers, the consequences in a short time must be dreadful. Another correspondent of Mr. Curteis says, our cottages are increasing in number immensely, and as soon as a family is sent abroad, the cottage is immediately felled. It would be a good thing to pull the cottages down, but in Sussex they are extremely valuable, and are worth from 150*l.* to 200*l.*

Those who emigrate prefer the United States, from Page 117. ignorance, or because the voyage is shorter; but were they aware of any advantage afforded in going to Canada, they would prefer that colony: many would prefer going to New Holland or Australia; and Mr. Curteis knows that a great number of farmers having some capital have gone out there, and have done well.

He thinks workhouses should be put down, as they are receptacles for the maintenance and propagation of Page 117. bastards. He considers the practice of paying to farmers the rent of cottages out of the poor-rates a great abuse, and thinks it desirable to tax the landlords for cottages. To prove the rapid increase of population, Mr. Curteis delivers several tables or returns, from which he says it will appear that there are more than four births to one burial.

Sir John Sebright. Page 124.

Sir JOHN SEBRIGHT, M.P., is entirely unacquainted with Ireland, and what he has to state to the committee is merely matter of opinion, as relating, not to England in general, but to the effect that emigration might have upon one particular parish. Had he the entire control of selecting such families as he pleased, provided they would go, and the power of preventing their places from being filled by new comers, he would pay liberally for their emigration—15*l.* a head, or even more. He would select persons having large families, and those bad characters.

The advantage received from Irish labourers in harvest, Sir John states to be very great, nor is he aware of any inconvenience that results from them. Their conduct is exemplary, and even meritorious, and he says that they do not interfere with resident labourers, as they come only during harvest and hay time. He thinks the rate of wages too low, and that the poor-rates are in part applied to the payment of labour.

Mr. Gabbett. Page 125.

WILLIAM GABBETT, Esq., resides five miles from Limerick, and is well acquainted with the county; great distress prevails among its population, from the very high price of all sorts of agricultural produce. There is no kind of manufacture, and the people are paupers from the want of employment. There is a redundancy of population with respect to the demand for labourers, and every person who can amass a very few pounds is emigrating from that part of the county. There is a very great disposition to emigrate, and he is sorry to say the best description of mechanics go. They are often people of some little property, and sell all they have to bear their passage out. Many leave their families behind them, who are a great load upon

Page 155.

the bounty of the public, as there are no poor-laws. The landlords have not hitherto contributed anything towards facilitating emigration, but they feel that they would be benefited by a reduction of the people on their estates, and witness is so convinced of this that he never re-lets any of the farms that fall in, but retains them in his own hands; and there is a general disposition among the landlords to prevent sub-letting, which throws a distressed population upon the country without any resource whatever. This Mr. Gabbett thinks the cause of all the outrages which have happened in Ireland. Page 126.

The mischief of sub-letting in Ireland is such, that when a person marries his daughter, or his son, he gives a portion of his farm to each, which tends to increase the population. He knows it to be carried so far, that the produce of the farm is barely sufficient to support the population, without leaving anything to the landlord. He does not conceive it possible, that the landed property of Ireland could afford a taxation for the support of the poor; and if imposed, it would tend to increase the redundant population.

In some instances, the proprietors might contribute something towards relieving their estates by emigration from redundant population; but he thinks it would be hard to place residents, in this respect, upon a par with the absentee proprietor: the former having done everything to check this redundancy, and the latter nothing. He is perfectly convinced, that it would be the interest of absentees to contribute to the reduction of the excessive population; and he thinks it would be politic for the Irish gentleman to advance money, or submit to a tax, for removing the redundant population, and that

it might be made a charge upon the property. Mr. Gabbett is of opinion, that such tax could be justly and beneficially applied to the encouragement of emigration. He is persuaded, that a great many people would voluntarily offer themselves to go to the colonies,
Page 127. provided it was not thought transportation, far beyond what the government would undertake to send; and so great is the want of employment in Ireland, that it
Page 129. would be the duty of the landlords to contribute very handsomely to get rid of their redundant population, even so far as advancing 20*l.* for the removal of a family of four persons, though it would be better to make it an annual charge: the high rents are not in general laid upon the poor by the gentry of the country, but by the middlemen and farmers who rent land; and such persons, he thinks, would be unwilling to contribute so largely; but he talks of the landed gentlemen contributing, who would consider the encouragement of emigration a very great benefit, and they would use means to prevent a recurrence of redundant population upon their respective estates. This, the middlemen and principal farmers would also do to a certain extent, as they have suffered as much from the overgrown population as the landed proprietors.

The difficulty, at present, for a landlord, whose
Page 130. leases are out, is to get possession: if he gives notice to his tenants to quit, he is sure to have some outrage committed on his property; if he re-lets it to others, the same mischief occurs; and, in the county of Limerick, it would be a matter of extreme danger to turn the persons out of possession of their farms whose terms may have expired. This controls the landlord in the management of his land, and affects his interest;

for the people keep a sort of forcible possession, and the proprietor receives no rent frequently for long periods.

Mr. Gabbett states, that, from the part of the country where he resides, there has been a considerable emigration to different parts of America, particularly to Canada, at their own expense; but with no other effect than the loss of the best mechanics and labourers, none of whom have ever returned. *He has often inquired concerning them of their friends, and they are highly pleased with their condition, which has induced the emigration of many more; and the letters from emigrants generally encourage their friends to follow them.* Page 130.

Mr. Gabbett states, that there is the greatest possible danger for any tenant to take possession of land from which others have been dispossessed—his life would be immediately sacrificed; for combinations have existed among the population of the country, to co-operate in vindictive measures against any tenants taking possession of lands from which the former tenants have been turned out, so long as he remembers. If the land is to be taxed, Mr. Gabbett thinks the landlords would sooner contribute to keep the poor in the country by an expenditure upon the land itself, than for emigration. They might be employed in reclaiming bogs and mountains, and in laying out extensive lines of road, and various other ways; and he himself would sooner contribute to this, than to emigration; for the reclaiming of these lands would feed the population. He does not think that the land in Ireland would bear a tax sufficient to afford occupation to the population unemployed; but he is satisfied that, with the poor man's labour, 6*l.* a year would be found sufficient to support Page 131.

a family of four, valuing his labour at 5*l.* or 11*l.* in all, not including clothes, which they derive from a pig which they generally keep. Mr. Gabbett does not know which to prefer,—paying 16*l.* a year to support four people, or to pay the sum of 20*l.* to remove them to a state of comparative comfort and independence, and get rid of them for ever; but he thinks that only one-third of the population is employed. Mr. Gabbett concludes by stating, that the objection which he feels to emigration is, that the efficient labourer will be taken away, and he will leave his family, for he cannot take all his children with him, in the greatest
Page 133. possible distress; but if the whole family can be transported, it would be a wise measure: and in that case, he thinks that emigration might be a better mode than that which he proposed.

Mr. Hodges. Page 133. 27 April, 1826.

THOMAS LAW HODGES, Esq., resides at Hemsted, in the county of Kent. In the district in which he lives, called the Weald of Kent, there is a redundancy of labouring population. The poor-rates are, from that reason, enormously high; and the only remedy is by promoting emigration, the tide of which, in Kent, is setting towards New York. The parishes assist, and in a recent emigration, only a week since, it has been at the rate of 13*l.* 10*s.* per head for grown-up persons, including all costs and charges; that is, for passage 7*l.*; for provisions 3*l.* 10*s.*, and two sovereigns to be in each person's pocket on landing: of the remaining sum, 4*s.* 6*d.* is paid at landing in New York, and a few shillings for expenses from Kent to London. Women pay the same passage as men; children under twelve years of age, half, or 3*l.* 10*s.*

Page 134. The expense of a pauper, with his wife, during the

whole year, would be 20*l.*; and, therefore, the parishes would be disposed to avail themselves of any facilities in sending these paupers to any of the British colonies. The people are extremely desirous of being sent. *Mr. Hodges saw a letter from an emigrant, thanking the parish for what they had done for him, and hoping that some day he would be able to make a return*; but if the prospect of removal to Canada does not hold out advantages equal or superior to the United States, they would not go. He was informed that the most favourable account of their welfare came from emigrants sent out by a neighbouring parish; and almost all the labourers of that parish are constantly pressing the overseers to send them out.

These people have settled in the country around New York, and particularly Albany. They are immediately taken into farmers' service, who come down and hire them immediately, giving them ten dollars per month, and as much meat as they can eat. But he thinks that they would prefer Canada, were they to receive land and some corresponding assistance. He thinks that parishes would be disposed to charge the poor-rates with an annuity, to repay both principal and interest; but it must be spread over a convenient space of time; for if emigration is to benefit the parishes, it must be on a very large scale; for they are so oppressed with the crowded population in a large district of the county of Kent, that they are fully aware of the evils of their situation, which must rapidly increase unless relieved. Two or three years ago, fifty-two men, women, and children, emigrated from the parish of Smarden to New York, twenty-seven at the expense of the parish, and twenty-five at their own charge. The reports from them are the most favourable, so much so that almost all the labourers of the parish are

Page 134.

Page 135.

desirous of going to America. The method adopted by the parish for providing the means of sending out those twenty-seven emigrants, was by borrowing a sum of money from an individual residing in the parish, and repaying it out of the rates by instalments of 50*l.* every half year, until the whole was paid off. But immediately on these families quitting their cottages, other families took possession of them, and the parish paid the rents; so that it has experienced no relief from this
Page 136. emigration. The cottages were entirely filled up by parishioners; for if the excess of the population were to be drawn off to-morrow, and twenty, thirty, or forty houses to become vacant, as many corresponding pairs of young people, many of them under age, would be asked in church directly. And this arises from the poor having a reliance upon the rates for assistance; so that they are become regardless of the consequences of marriage, and have lost those feelings of independence which their
Page 136. fathers had. Mr. Hodges is quite satisfied that the erection of cottages has been a most serious evil throughout that county; and is, from conviction, concurring with other cottage proprietors in pulling down from twenty-six to thirty cottages, as soon as their present occupants are gone, if they emigrate, as it is probable they will; for, if the buildings are left standing, young people of seventeen and eighteen years of age, and even still younger, would marry immediately, and thus the evil would continue. The increase of the number of
Page 137. cottages may be attributed to the long war, which occasioned many Government works all over the country: the demand for labour was very great; people married without fear of the consequences; they thought their children would have full employment. Volunteering from the militia made vacancies, which were soon filled up; and there was an unusual demand for labour.

The cultivation of hops had something to do with it. It is a woody district, and has been a favourite country for labourers to go into. In a population of sixteen parishes, consisting of 21,719 persons, 8,263 are paupers; and, in addition to that number, 682, for whom no employment whatever can be found in any part of of the year; thus nearly a moiety of the whole population is dependent on the rates. Those that are able to work have been frequently sent to other parts of the country to procure labour, but have not been able to succeed. One very striking fact is, that they are almost constantly, in their applications for work, underbid by the Irish labourers. Mr. Hodges is of opinion that if Page 133. the inducements suggested were held out to these paupers, any number might be induced to go, so as to relieve the parishes to the extent required.

In these sixteen parishes, the county rates, including the church-rate and highway-rate, were, for 1820, 1821, and 1823, 39,664*l.*, which he mentions to show the very Page 139. great distress of the country, and necessity of relief from the crowded population with which they are oppressed. Since 1822 there has been no improvement. This description does not apply to the whole of Kent, but to a very large proportion of it; and Mr. Hodges knows a corresponding district in Sussex. He does not think that there would be any objection on the part of the paupers, to pay back any money advanced for their emigration, provided they had confidence that they would do well. In which case they would prefer going Page 140. to Canada to New York; and the removal of these poor labourers would have the effect of increasing the rate of wages, and rendering comfortable those who remain. But to render emigration effectual it would be necessary to prevent the building of cottages.

Page 141. Of those who have emigrated to the United States, many, Mr. Hodges says, have become land-owners, and purchased their lands at two dollars an acre. One of his own tenants went out, and has purchased 200 acres
Page 142. of land in the state of Ohio, and is doing very well. He has written home, and many of his own neighbours are going.

The Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Limerick. The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Limerick, in considering the comparative advantages of removing the redundant population by means of emigration, or employing it at home by the application of capital, apprehends, from past experience, that at home much money might be expended with little benefit. The evil
Page 143. to be met is a redundant population, an evil which is now in the process of curing itself in the most painful way, by the ejection, destitution, and starvation of these poor people, whom his Lordship denominates surreptitious tenantry. The evil is pressing and immediate. Any system of home relief must be gradual in its operation; but emigration brings instantaneous relief; it is what bleeding would be to an apoplectic patient. The sufferers are at once taken away from a country where they are a nuisance, and are passed to a country where they will be a benefit and a blessing. Meantime the landlords, aided by existing laws, will have it in their power to check the growth of population. *In regard to the emigration of* 1823, *his Lordship's impression is very favourable: the emigrants are extremely well satisfied. They have written to their friends, desiring them to follow.* The desire of the lower classes in Ireland for emigration is very considerable; there is a great anxiety for it.

The Bishop hopes, that the landlords in the south of

Ireland, whose properties would be benefited, would ultimately contribute towards the expense of emigration. There might be difficulties in the first instance from the want of means, or a right apprehension of the scheme; but as information grows, it will be seen that a small annual payment, instead of involving a pecuniary loss, will, from the consequent improved state of things at home, be a source of profit. In fact, the evil felt in the outrages perpetrated and likely to be perpetrated by dispossessed tenants, would soon create a disposition to pay a small yearly stipend towards their emigration and settlement abroad. Thus it would be with the gentry. The farmers would be still more desirous, because the mischief comes home to them; their houses are liable to attack, their cattle are destroyed, their lives become frequently sacrifices. The Bishop thinks, therefore, that there might be good hope of parochial assessment to the amount of sixpence per acre, supposing the law to authorise it, for a parochial assessment in addition to voluntary contributions of landlords is desirable. There is a distinct reason for each. The landholder should pay for protection, the land-owner for the improvement of his property. His Lordship doubts the propriety of making the tax at first compulsory: in the first instance, let it be a power to parishes to tax themselves, entirely limited to the purposes of emigration, but let the exertion of the power be optional. The Irish landlords would prefer a small sum annually for a time, rather than give a larger sum once for all. If the money advanced on emigration was to be repaid by an annuity, spread over a surface of years, the landlord would be willing to undertake the earlier years of that payment, leaving to the emigrant to continue the payment, when he shall have the means of so

Page 144.

Page 145.

doing, from the profits of the land he has to cultivate. His Lordship has no manner of doubt but that a great proportion of the general mass of offences in Ireland is derived from the system of Irish tenantry, and the excessive population that has been the result. He wishes for such a legislative measure, rendering it possible that, in the event of emigration, there should be an annual contribution from the landlord, or an assessment on the parish, or both; and his Lordship thinks it desirable that commissioners for the carrying emigration into effect in an extended way should look for aid from the gentry and from the landed proprietors; that every facility should be given to emigration, while at the same time districts and parishes should be left to their own option to avail themselves of such facilities.

Lt.-Col. Cockburn. Page 147. 28 April.

Lieut.-Col. COCKBURN was Superintendant of the Military Settlements in Upper Canada, which commenced in 1816, or 1817. They are situated between the river St. Lawrence and the Ottawa River. The soil is good, and they were established for the object of placing discharged soldiers on the lands. The quantity allotted to each individual depended on his rank. The largest grant made to Field-Officers was 1200 acres; it then went down according to the different ranks, and a private soldier received 100 acres. They had transport found for themselves and families to the settlement. After being placed on their lands, they were allowed one year's provision, and implements of husbandry, and articles to assist them in building their houses. By reference to documents, Col. Cockburn says that the expense of locating each private soldier was about 20*l.*:—this sum applies to an individual settler only. There were settlement-regulations, referring

to due exertion in clearing and improving their lots, general propriety of conduct, and not quitting the settlement without permission. The settlers were English, Irish, Scotch, and Germans; and this principle of location continued six or seven years: of late, soldiers have been enlisted for limited periods of service, and it has been the custom in the Canadas, &c., when those periods of service expired, instead of affording a passage home, to give them lands with the advantages stated: the numbers each year depended, therefore, upon the soldiers that each corps in the country had to discharge. The earliest settlers may, on an average, have from fifteen to twenty acres cleared, and in some instances more; but that will have depended very much upon the means which they had, over and above their manual exertions, of bringing the land into cultivation. These military settlers had no means but what was afforded by government; but in many cases, at the end of the year, they were in such a state as to require further assistance, without which they would have inevitably perished from want. This arose, perhaps, from the want Page 148. of exertion, a bad season, or sickness, wounds, or fire; and, speaking from experience, the Colonel says, that one year's provision cannot, in all cases, be reckoned upon as sufficient to enable a man to become established on his land; in some cases he should have rations for six months longer. An acre of land, when first cleared, may be expected to produce twenty bushels of wheat, each bushel giving fifty pounds of flour. A settler may, by due exertion, clear three acres the first year, and if he meet with no untoward circumstance, he is exempt from the fear of starvation; but he has his house to build, a severe winter to contend with, clothing to provide for himself and family. Generally speaking, Colonel Cockburn

rather inclines to the opinion, that at the expiration of seven years an emigrant would not have surplus produce worth 5*l.* sterling. A settler, after seven years,
Page 149. ought to be in possession of property fully to the amount of 5*l.* of annual surplus, but it is doubtful whether he can find a market with that sort of certainty, so as to pay that sum as a *money rent*. The only lands allotted for settlers are in distant parts of the country, where there are not any markets. They stated to the Colonel, when last in Canada, "You left us without food, and now you find us with more food than we know what to do with!" If, indeed, roads were constructed, and facilities of communication afforded, a market might be found for the surplus produce of the settlement, but still there would be a great difficulty in collecting *rents*, to the payment of which there is a great repugnance; and as to receiving the value in kind, that would depend very much upon the means which you take to enforce the collection of it. Col. Cockburn is of opinion, that, at the expiration of seven years, the repayment *in money* of the expense of establishing the settlers cannot be reckoned upon; in more than one-half the instances, you would not succeed at all; in many others, you would not succeed without having recourse to legal process. The only thing would be withholding the deed; but if that were done, the consequence would be, that the settler would consider it such a grievance, that he would cease to take any interest in his location, and would leave it. Generally speaking, a settler would not fulfil any engagement he might enter into for the repayment, at the end of seven years, of the money received. There was an engage-
ment entered into with the military settlers on this sub-
Page 149. ject: in a year of difficulty, when the crops had failed,

it was deemed necessary to supply them with seed-wheat, which they promised to repay at a certain period; the accounts for this expenditure were kept open a considerable time, and we were at last obliged to get an order to cancel the debts altogether, from the impossibility of collecting them. The non-payment by the emigrants arises very much from the difficulty of finding markets, and the great scarcity of money in these settlements.

A great many of the military settlers have gone over to the United States, both single and married men, and have remained there. If they went away before receiving their deeds, their lands were re-located; but where any improvements had been made, Col. Cockburn established a rule—that, previous to granting the lot to any body else, the improvements should be valued, so that, in the event of the settler returning, he might receive the amount of that labour which he had actually laid out in effecting the improvements. The motive which induces settlers to emigrate to the United States is generally a deception. The people of that country are fond of enticing emigrants, hold out inducements, and, availing themselves of their labour for a certain time, then turn them adrift. Col. Cockburn has known a great number of people who, on their way to Upper Canada, have been induced to go over to the United States, and who have eventually perished there for want. Page 150.

There is hardly such a thing as a ready money sale of land in Upper Canada; it is generally paid for by instalments, so much the first year, so much the second, and so much in the third, and so on—the whole of the money bearing interest; but it has happened, in many cases, that neither the one nor the other is realized. Page 151.

Page 152. Col. Cockburn is only partially acquainted with the line of country from Niagara to Port Talbot, as he has generally gone by water; but the road through this country was made under the establishment of the legislature by statute labour, and the labour which the settlers are bound to perform in the front of their own lots.

Colonel Cockburn is of opinion, that the clergy reserves tend to prevent the making of good roads in Upper Canada, for unless a crown or clergy reserve be under lease, there is no provision for making any
Page 152. road through it all, so that it becomes a stop. With regard to the possibility of collecting rents, Colonel Cockburn refers the Committee to the difficulty which the clergy have in collecting the rents of their re-
Page 153. serves. They have many under lease, and he alludes to what they actually receive, not to what is due.

Some of the mechanics, after being established, avail themselves of their particular line of business; and for this reason it was thought advisable to establish a certain number of villages in the military settlement; and Colonel Cockburn submits to the Committee the utility of doing so in all new settlements, as a means of bringing artisans together, of encouraging tradesmen to bring goods to the settlement, and of affording to their farmers the means of disposing of their produce. The present mode of locating lands in squares, rather than concentric lots, is to be preferred, as it facilitates the great object of establishing general communications through the country; and he is quite satisfied, that villages are of great advantage: in some places a village was laid out in acre lots, and at some distance park lots of ten acres, which brought more inhabitants
Page 154. together, such as blacksmiths, tailors, shoemakers,

and traders of various descriptions, who lived by their different crafts. The military settlers were not of a superior class; on the contrary, as soldiers they had imbibed habits of idleness. Of the settlers, Colonel Cockburn rather prefers the English and Scotch, but the Irish agree very well; they have, indeed, very little time to quarrel, and are, in general, at such a distance, that it must be a sort of pitched quarrel if they quarrel at all.

Colonel Cockburn's impression respecting Mr. Robinson's settlers of 1823, was, that they were not doing well; and that the settlers in the neighbourhood were so much annoyed with their conduct, that it was wished no more should be sent out under similar circumstances. This impression was made from the confidence he had in those individuals who spoke to him upon the subject, and who, in his opinion, had ample means of knowing. Colonel Cockburn thinks, that in any system of emigration, boards would do mischief, but agents are indispensable; and he is quite satisfied, that, to succeed, all the orders and directions must emanate from this country, and the agents employed should be under the controul of the persons who conduct the emigration.

Page 154.

Page 155.

Dr. Strachan.

The Reverend Doctor STRACHAN has just returned from Canada; he hopes that, after seven years, the settlers would have the disposition, as they certainly would have the ability to repay any advance made on account of their emigration; if they did not, the improvement of the farms would be a sufficient security that the parties would not leave them, but rather pay the debt. Europeans in Canada have feelings quite different from those from the United States.

Page 159.

The Europeans live hardly, are afraid of getting into debt, and are provisioned chiefly on milk, vegetables, and bread; when they have a pig they fatten and sell it, and get attached to the place in which they are living. Persons from the United States, on the contrary, live extravagantly, compared to Europeans, form no particular attachment, get into debt if they can, and after five or six years, think nothing of selling their lots, and if they have a small balance, of taking a new farm to improve, in the back settlements, either in Canada or the United States; nor will they think any thing of going four hundred miles in pursuit of a location. They sometimes find difficulty in disposing of their farms under such circumstances, and sometimes not: if an emigrant has money he prefers purchasing a cultivated farm; it takes away from him the dismal apprehension of going into the woods. There is, therefore, an occasional market of this sort for farms in Upper Canada. In other respects, the market takes its hue from the prices in this country. In six weeks the merchants know the value of colonial produce in London, and regulate their dealings accord-
Page 159. ingly. The industry of settlers is progressive: a European will, after six months, if he wish to succeed, and continues industrious, do more work in the course of a week or fortnight than a native American, because he perseveres longer. He will not fell as much timber in one day or two days, but in six days he will fell more, and he has also a greater disposition to save than the American. He has known, in his experience, persons accumulate in eighteen, or twenty years, a property of two or three thousand pounds, from the actual improvement of their farms and lands; then purchasing other farms for establishing their children,

or letting them out in shares. He is by no means of opinion that an emigrant, at the end of one year, is unable to provide for his subsistence without assistance; for many persons have, to his knowledge, gone on farms, and subsisted themselves the same year. He, therefore, thinks one year's provision is quite sufficient; and he is confident that the advantages which have been given to the emigrants of 1823, with the vast benefit they possess of a proper superintendant, quite enough for any industrious man to get on perfectly well.

In regard to the children of settlers, the practice in Upper Canada, and in the United States, is this:—if a man has a family of sons, he provides a farm for the eldest, and gives what aid he can to establish him. To the second, when of age, he does the same, and so on. The younger generally takes care of the homestead, and provides for the parents. The farms found for the children branched off are not always in the neighbourhood, for distance is not considered in America as in England, and he must be a very indifferent settler who is not able to branch off his children in this manner. Enactments concerning roads and internal communications are better understood in the colony than in this country. Accordingly road-laws exist, which are considered to insure, in a reasonable time, a tolerable road; and in winter there are good roads everywhere. In as far as the crown and clergy reserves are thought interruptions, they become, on being leased, subject to all the laws for the regulating and making of roads as other lands are. It must be admitted, that there are many reserves not leased, which present an impediment; but the inhabitants of the Canadas pay no quit-rent as in other colonies:

Page 160.

Page 160.

when, therefore, the inhabitants complain of the small impediment thrown in the way by these reserves, it appears unreasonable, more especially as they are leasing very fast in the more populous parts of the country. Landholders lease them for their children, that they may be near them; consequently the impediment, small as it is, can only be temporary. As to the difficulty experienced by the clergy in collecting their rents, it must be observed, that the clergy corporation has been but a few years established; that since the Canada Company has been in agitation, it has ceased to do any thing, till that affair has come to a conclusion; but the difficulty experienced in collecting the rents has arisen chiefly from a reluctance on the part of the clergy to proceed to extremities. As to the disposition of the colony to acquiesce in this way of providing for the church it is difficult to say. They would much rather prefer this way to that of being obliged to pay for the clergy themselves, and those who wish for an establishment do not consider the reserves disadvantageous; but the church establishment has been hitherto so inadequate to the wants of the people, that it has not produced that religious character which it would have done had it been better supported; for, wherever a clergyman is established in a populous district, he collects round him all the principal people, and forms a
Page 161. respectable congregation. If, therefore, the church of England has made very little progress, it is entirely from the want of means; for eighty or one hundred clergymen could be placed to great advantage in the colony, if they could be decently supported.

The actual number of established clergymen were in 1824 about twenty-two, they are now twenty-six; of other denominations there are very few, except the

Methodists, who may have twenty-five travelling preachers, chiefly from the United States.

Education is flourishing in the colony; there are eleven grammar-schools, one for each district, the master of which receives a salary of 90*l.* per annum from the province, besides fees from his scholars. At these schools upwards of 300 young men, the children of the principal inhabitants, are instructed. There are also common or parochial schools in every township or parish, and from these ten of the most promising young men are selected, and sent to the grammar-school, to be taught gratis. The masters of the grammar-schools, two excepted, are of the Established Church, but there is no religious education enforced on those who differ. Prayers are enjoined evening and morning, but the Roman Catholic children who attend the schools are exempted from all religious instruction. In Upper Canada, there are few Roman Catholics. When Dr. Strachan came to the province there was only one priest, and he is now bishop. Since that period, several others have come into the province. The Roman Catholic clergy are supported by their people but poorly. They claim the tithe, as in Lower Canada, because the 14th of George III. applied to the province of Quebec before its division, and the 31st of King George III. establishes the right of the Catholic clergy to their rights and dues, and the Catholic clergy of Upper Canada consider their rights indisputable. The clergy of the Church of England have been hitherto supported by the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. As to the clergy of the United States, they are not respectably supported. The people hire them for stated periods, perhaps six

Page 162.

months, and when they preach a sermon that the congregation dislikes, they are turned off.

Dr. Strachan is of opinion that should any settler fail in paying the expense of his location, the improvement made on his farm would be a sufficient security.

Page 163. There is no difficulty in the government recovering the sums that are advanced, as the improved farm is worth more than the debt.

As to the demand for labour, it would, owing to the thinness of population, be very soon glutted in any particular district, and this forces the emigrants to go to the public works for more permanent employment. In the United States, the labour performed on the canal has been always paid in money. The commissioners of the Erie Canal have been very careful to see that the labourers received their money; and the managers of the Welland Canal follow their example.

A man of moderate industry may in seven years clear and improve twenty-four or thirty acres: many persons will have much more ready for crop. As to corn or pasture land, the success depends entirely upon the soil: the average produce of wheat in Upper Canada may be reckoned twenty-five bushels per acre,

Page 164. and he has seen the twentieth crop on the same ground, but that is considered bad farming. The system of farming may certainly be improved, but it requires time, as many of the emigrants have not been bred to farming. The valued property assessed in the province of Upper Canada is about two and a half millions of acres, and about eleven hundred thousand in tillage.

Page 164. The emigration of 1823 has undoubtedly succeeded. In respect to the military settlement, it must be observed, that soldiers broken up from their regiments

are not the best settlers, nor were the arrangements made by the military so good as those under Mr. Robinson, who knows the country. Mechanics and others, if once upon their land, would remain; but so many things are told them about going into the woods, that they are frequently tempted to go to the United States; but if they can be only placed upon their lands they are sure to remain. There is no drain from Canada to the United States, but the contrary. Emigrants cast upon the shore of Canada, and not sent there under the protection of government, might be induced to leave the province, but not those who had been placed upon their farms.

The flour from Gennesee or any neighbouring part of the United States is not better than that of Upper Canada, for there are several mills in that province, the bread of which is preferred at Quebec to that of any other which comes into the market. There would be no difficulty in admitting American flour into Upper or Lower Canada, for exportation, for it would improve both the import and export trade. Canada exported from 70 to 80,000 barrels of American flour previous to a dollar per barrel duty being laid on it. The principal part was sent to the West Indies in vessels of suitable size. As the merchants had the staple article of flour, it enabled them to make up assorted cargoes; and by this means they disposed of beef, pork, butter, lard, live-stock, potatoes, and lumber, which was greatly advantageous to the country, but being deprived of flour, they cannot make up their cargoes, and are therefore obliged to abandon the trade. The direct advantages that Canada derived from allowing the importation of flour free, are—

Page 165.

1. The freight from Upper Canada.
2. The cartage, porterage, storage, cooperage, &c.
3. The merchants' commission.

Export—the freight—the supply of the ships with provisions—the men with clothing, and the building of the ships. Canada labours under the great disadvantage of having the river frozen nearly half the year; and this prevents the merchants from being able to compete on equal terms with those of the United States. This evil might, in a great degree, be remedied, by cutting the Canal across the Isthmus of Missiquash, to connect the Bay of Fundy with the Gulf of St. Lawrence: if this were done the Canadians would make St. John's a depôt for their produce; by this means they could supply the markets in the West Indies with good flour cheaper than the Americans, which they have not been
Page 165. able hitherto to do, and likewise with beef, butter, &c. In this way the inhabitants of St. John, New Brunswick, would become deeply interested in the West India trade; and instead of having their returns made directly to Canada, they would have their returns from the St. John's.

The exports from Upper Canada will not naturally pass through the Erie Canal, in preference to the St. Lawrence, because it takes about eight days to proceed from Buffaloe to New York, or twice as long as to go to Montreal; and this delay, in addition to the duties, must be a great burthen: nor can the duties be entirely
Page 166. done away, on account of the repairs annually required; and if allowed to go free of all toll, the produce would cost more to New York than Montreal. The trade, subsisting at present between Quebec and Halifax, is not very great, but the projected canal from the St. Lawrence to the Bay of Fundy, would make a

communication safe at all times with St. John; and, by cutting a small internal canal, with Halifax also. As respects morasses, they come under the provisions of the Provincial legislature, which provides for such cases. These enactments diminish the difficulty according to the means of the population. That the settlements of Upper and Lower Canada would afford, by their increase, a very considerable demand for West India and British manufactures, is quite evident. A single good road, made through a township, raises the value of the land 200*l.* per cent.

The fisheries on the coast offer, also, a great market for the Canadians; and as fishermen are employed, craftsmen would find occupation; so that emigration would of itself increase.

Dr. Strachan sees no objection to allowing, in districts where there is a large majority of Catholics, a reserve of land for the Catholic priest, without interfering with the reserve already made for the Established Church. As to the Methodists, or any other denomination, it does not appear wise.

The Catholics are a sort of national church. The church of Scotland might be added as deserving assistance, but such assistance should be confined to the established Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches. Page 167. A great portion of the inhabitants resort to dissenting places of worship, from the great deficiency in the supply of regular Clergymen.

There is no disposition in Canada to emigrate to the United States; for if the settlers or emigrants were assisted, as they have lately been, all would remain.

The population is, in general, very much attached to the government of Great Britain. The settlers have no taxes or assessments to pay, compared to those paid

by the inhabitants of the United States. The feeling of the Canadas is at present exceedingly in favour of a continuance of the connexion with the mother-country, provided their interests are properly protected. The exports last year, 1825, were valued at upwards of 1,000,000*l.*;—the seamen employed, nine or ten thousand;—the vessels eight hundred and eighty-three; the tonnage 227,707; and sixty-one new vessels were built in Lower Canada.

The boats that ply on the Erie canal are from twenty to thirty tons burthen, and the number was so great, as to produce 500,000 dollars gross revenue; nor will the annual repair be very great.

There came by the way of New York a great number of Irishmen, in 1817 and 1818, recommended by the British consul; they were settled in Cavan, and are all doing well, and have a great deal of surplus produce. They appeared to have no money among them when they arrived, but after looking around them, they found employment and gained wages. These were chiefly Protestants. There is a large settlement, west of York, as prosperous and satisfied as those in the township of Cavan: many of them went and laboured on the Erie canal, and but for that they would have been much longer in getting forward. There are not, indeed, the same facilities now, in getting labour, as formerly; because the Erie canal is finished, and the
Page 168. Welland canal cannot absorb all the labourers. The Ohio canal is rather too distant, but still many go and labour upon it.

Mr. Buchanan.

ALEXANDER CARLISLE BUCHANAN, Esq., knows very little about the emigration of 1823, but a good deal about free emigration;—has visited both Upper

and Lower Canada, but his property is in the latter. Emigrants landing in Canada, frequently go into the States and return again. Many who settle in the back parts of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, find Quebec the cheapest and easiest route, from the great water conveyance on the St. Lawrence and the lakes. The majority, however, of those who land at Quebec, settle in Canada. Emigrants can lay by half their wages in the United States, and the same in Canada. He has known poor wretches arrive at Quebec, who would be scarcely hired in Ireland, realize, in one summer, from Page 169. fifty to eighty dollars; for they get eight or ten dollars per month, and many half a dollar a day, and food. Mr. Buchanan's brother, the consul at New York, sent to Canada a great number of settlers from Ireland, who are doing well. For the last ten years, the arrival at Quebec has been from ten to twelve thousand annually, and about the same number arrive in the United States. Before passing the late act, allowing emigration to the Page 170. United States on similar footing as to Canada, not so many went to the States, from the high rate of passage; but as ships going there can now take as many as to our colonies, a preference is generally given to the United States, except by those who have friends in the Canadas before them; but there are not so many going to the States as there were. The majority of these emigrants are Protestants and Dissenters; some of them with large families, and carrying with them from 50*l.* to 100*l.*, and are in general doing well.

Mr. Buchanan has been in the habit of taking out Page 172. passengers; but the Act for their regulation is not 3d May. acceptable to the habits and customs of the people of Ireland, as it provides provisions, which they know not

27271

how to use, and which they do not like; at the same time it very much increases the expense, and is not so favourable to their health as the food they are accustomed to, which consists of oatmeal, potatoes, butter, eggs, molasses, and a little bacon, the whole not costing more than 2*l.* to support them during their passage.

Mr. Felton. Page 176.

WILLIAM BOWMAN FELTON, Esq., again called in; states, that the French law, in Lower Canada, is confined to the adjustment of civil disputes. In all criminal matters the law of England is introduced. This prevalence of the French law is a disadvantage most severely felt by all English settlers, and great numbers of respectable persons are, from this circumstance, prevented from settling in Lower Canada. Mr. Felton does not believe that the French population is particularly attached to the present French law; nor that they prefer holding property by the French rather than the English tenure; but they dislike going into the townships, on account of the reserves for the crown and clergy interfering with their mode of settlement; and because the clergy reserves promise a provision for a rival church, and they have no provision for their own clergy. In the Seigneuries of Lower Canada, the law provides for the clergy of the church of Rome by the appropriation of a tithe of one twenty-sixth of the grain raised; but in the part of the province granted since the conquest, in free and common soccage, there is no provision by law made for any established clergy specially designated, the reservation of the clergy lands being for the support of a Protestant church; so that the ministers of the church of Scotland are, equally with those of the church of Rome, unprovided for by law in

Page 179.

those parts of the province. Emigrants of the established church of England, locating themselves in the townships, are provided with religious instruction by the beneficence of his Majesty's Government, or aid of an allowance from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. The number of clergymen so provided does not exceed twelve; and in regard to the proportion of inhabitants belonging to the established church, in as far as Mr. Felton's observation extends, wherever a minister of the established church is placed, all the Protestants in the neighbourhood frequent his church. And he thinks, that if emigration is carried on under the sanction of Government, it is the duty of Government to cause provision to be made for religious instruction commensurate to the growing numbers and wants of the emigrants.

In regard to schools, they are very generally established in the townships, and the masters are paid by the colony; but they are not grammar-schools, and are intended only for the poorer classes. The local legislature and authorities are not very forward in promoting education. There are no efficient schools for Page 180.
the instruction of the common people in the French settlements in Lower Canada. The Roman Catholic clergy may, indeed, be said to assist, because the three colleges or seminaries, at Montreal, Quebec, and Nicolet, are open to the admission of the laity, and the instructors are Catholic priests. Mr. Felton prefers emigrants from England to the American Backwoodsmen, because they have more steady habits, soon become as efficient, and the Irish for the fisheries. He thinks that Page 181.
as many of the emigrants as possible should be located upon the frontiers of the United States, particularly such as are most averse to the Americans, in religion

and prejudices, as the Irish, or preferably the Highland Catholic emigrants. Mr. Felton thinks it judicious to encourage a certain number of established churches in the Canadas, by an equal protection afforded to each; to explain,—he would confine his protection to the church of England, the church of Scotland, and the church of Rome; and that they should be supported
Page 132. by a tithe. He does not consider that the appropriation of land to the clergy of the church of England will yield the benefit anticipated. The amount of rent from the clergy reserves, in any given township of 60,000 acres, if all leased and collected, will, for twenty-one years, be only 154*l.*: now, what is true of a township is true of the whole province.

Mr. Hodges. 4th May. Page 182. THOMAS LAW HODGES again called in—thinks that there is no remedy to resist the existing evil of a redundant population equal to that of emigration, and the necessity of that species of relief is so pressing, that the parishes must and will relieve themselves, either by emigration to Canada or to the United States. The cost of a family, a man, and his wife, and two children, emigrating to the United States, is 37*l.*; to send the same family to Upper Canada will cost 88*l.*, leaving a difference of 51*l.* more in sending them to Canada than the United States; but if the parishes were only to pay the interest of this sum for seven years, when it would be assumed by the emigrant himself, at the same time that he was deprived of any future claim on the parish,
Page 184. much saving of expense and trouble would be made; for if the expense of sending emigrants to Canada is made not to exceed that of sending them to the United States, there would be a disposition on the part of the parishes to send them to the former. After

attributing the increase of population, in a great degree, to improvident marriages, from a reliance on the poor-rates and the building of cottages, Mr. Hodges delivered a letter from a labouring man, who had emigrated from an adjacent parish, dated Upper Canada, 30th October, 1825, stating that it is a fine country for a man with a family, entering into various particulars; but all encouraging and in favour of emigration. He had gone first to the United States; but, convinced of the superior advantages of Upper Canada, he had removed into it, where, he says, "my children can get farms of their own, which they could not have done in the States." This man had nothing when he went away but his labour to depend upon. A thousand families could well be spared from the district of which Mr. Hodges speaks, and with great benefit to the labourers who remain; nor does he conceive it possible, without such extraordinary relief as emigration may afford, and, perhaps, emigration alone, that the people can be restored to that sound state, by which the poor laws may be placed on their original principles, and the moral and religious habits of the people be restored; for the lower population are led day by day more and more to throw themselves upon public or parochial relief. Page 185.

ALEXANDER NIMMO, Esq., is well acquainted with the state of the poor in the South of Ireland, where the labouring population is redundant. He believes that the introduction of manufactures would very much ameliorate the condition of the poor; but how far emigration to a more favourable situation might be the better scheme, he is not competent to decide. He is of opinion, that the disturbed situation of Ireland Mr. Nimmo. Page 187.

does not arise from thick population, but from portions of the country where it is thin; except in one case, he recollects no disturbance in the neighbourhood of Clonakilty, or in the extreme parts of the County of Clare. He thinks that the disturbances in Ireland may always be traced to the distressed condition of the people, and has been most violent in the agricultural districts.

The removal of the redundant population would increase the value of the land; but the disposition of the proprietors to contribute to their removal by emigration would depend upon the expense, though there there are some cases where a proprietor would be willing to pay a considerable sum to remove from his estate, without trouble or inconvenience to himself, a part of the population.

WILLIAM WRIXON BECHER, Esq., M. P., knows it to be a fact, as Mr. Nimmo stated, that the more populous districts have been invariably quiet, and the less so have been disturbed. Believes that sub-letting exists in the south of Ireland to a pernicious degree, and that it deteriorates the value of property; and to this he attributes much of the misery of that part of the country. Mr. Becher doubts the existence of a disposition, to any extent, on the part of the landlords to concur in the expense necessary for removing a portion of the redundant population; but if the demand was not too great, he thinks it would be the landlord's interest to contribute; and if the aid were, by way of annuity, charged upon the estate, it would be deemed more favourable, because spread over a number of years. There is such a general feeling prevailing among landlords against sub-letting, from ex-

Page 192.

perience of its evils, that, if ever relieved from such a state, they would endeavour to prevent its recurrence. At present it would be very dangerous and very cruel to remove persons at the termination of their leases, without being able to dispose of them subsequently. Nor does he conceive it possible, without emigration, to afford such relief by the removal of the superabundant population, as to enable landlords to let farms upon any sound principle.

Mr. Becher is of opinion, that the emigrants who went to Canada consider their situation enviable, and that there is a disposition among the lower classes to follow them; and in his neighbourhood to escape the consequences of misconduct. Page 193.

Mr. Nimmo thinks that a great unwillingness will be found on the part of the Irish proprietors to being assessed in the nature of land-tax for any thing like parochial relief. Page 195.

REDMOND O'DRISCOL, Esq., agrees with Mr. Nimmo, that no remedy can be applied so effectually and so satisfactorily for the removal of the redundant population, as emigration carried on upon an extensive scale, and upon a judicious system. There is no probability of such population being absorbed by manufacturers. He thinks that the interests of the proprietors ought to induce them to contribute largely towards emigration, as it increases the security and value of their property. The landholders would concur in the advantages of emigration, but he doubts whether they would concur as to any mode of taxation upon themselves to carry it on; yet, if they were brought to see that it was their interest, they might contribute. The extent of voluntary emigration has, Page 196.

last spring, been almost incredible; it has been pro-
Page 196. duced by the invitations of friends who had preceded them, particularly those sent out in 1823, under Mr. Robinson. Mr. O'Driscol has seen people by hundreds at the brokers' office at the Port of Cork, stating that their friends invite them over, and expressing great anxiety to go. Invitations also come from persons who have gone to the United States; but at present the emigration is chiefly to the North American colonies.

The emigrants going are chiefly agricultural, and possess some means.

Page 197. Lord Viscount ENNISMORE, M.P., thinks it would be very desirable to Irish landlords to meet a proportion of the expense of emigration; that they would consider 20*l.* for the emigration of a family, consisting of four persons, not beyond the advantage to be reaped by their removal. A part of the population is at present employed in public works, which only afford a temporary relief. His Lordship believes that the want of employment was almost solely the cause of the disturbances; for a disturbance in the County of Cork was quieted almost immediately by the employment of the people, and no disturbance has taken place in that district since. His Lordship cannot state what sort of pecuniary sacrifice a landlord would make to be relieved from a redundant population on his property, but he himself would be very willing to pay for seven years 3*l.* 10*s.* for the emigration of a family of four persons; and he believes many persons would be very glad to do the same, but he does not mean to say that all would. His Lordship is fully aware of the evils of sub-letting, but covenants in leases against

it are found unavailing; not only does sub-letting produce extreme poverty and distress among the sub-tenants themselves, but defeats the rights of the landlord, and becomes the source of great outrage and disturbance.

Lord Ennismore does not see how an assessment on land in Ireland could be made justifiable to meet the expense of emigration; nor does he think that the system of poor-laws would be at all applicable to Ireland, but the contrary; and believes that its adoption would be attended with ruinous consequences. There is a general feeling and desire in the country to get rid of the redundant population, particularly since the commencement of the emigrations within the last three years, and the lower classes are perfectly willing and desirous of going. The accounts from Canada have been very encouraging, so much so, as to cause a general anxiety among the lower orders to migrate to Canada. His Lordship sent out, in the last emigration, several small tenants from some farms, which was a great relief to the farms, and the people themselves have been highly pleased with the circumstances in which they have been placed. Page 199. Page 200.

Archibald Campbell, Esq., M. P., believes that the influx of Irish population to Glasgow and its neighbourhood is very great, and learns from good authority that there are 40,000, the greater part weavers. The agricultural labourers remain generally in Wigton and Ayr. One would think that this influx has operated to depress the wages in Glasgow and its vicinity; but Mr. Campbell is not aware that it has had that effect. The Irish labourers do not live so comfortably as the Scotch, and their presence is found a great grievance, Mr. Arch. Campbell. Page 201.

as the subsistence is, from that circumstance, much increased in price; but he does not think that the population are aware of it. This influx does not strike Mr. Campbell as depressing the station of life which artisans occupy; but having little knowledge of the state of the manufactures, he cannot speak with certainty on the subject. He believes that an Irish labourer can pass over to Scotland for about 4*d*. sterling.

Mr. Rolph. Page 204.

JOHN ROLPH, Esq., is a member of the legislature in Upper Canada; has looked over the evidence of the Solicitor-general and Dr. Strachan, and decidedly concurs, in so far as emigration is concerned; and has not the least doubt of the settler's ability to commence, after a period of seven years, the re-payment of the money advanced for his emigration; and if he made any difficulty, the land would be an ample security. It is, indeed, difficult at present to sell land at all; but if there were emigration, the value would increase in proportion to the population. Still there would be an Page 204. interchange of property with the old settlers, and pauper-settlers would undertake the conditions of their predecessors; and Mr. Rolph has no doubt but that there are in the colony old settlers who would be glad to take such farms. He is in the habit of letting farms, receiving one-third of the produce, and the stock double in three years; of course, in such cases, he takes the produce in kind. There would be no prejudice against making this sort of payment, on the score of its being considered as rent, as long as they understood it. Mr. Rolph conceives that there is no danger with respect to the number of emigrants that might be located in Upper Canada, upon the principles of those already sent out in 1823 and 1825; for, under such

conditions, the greater the number the more they would assist and keep each other in countenance. And provided 20,000 were located in the first three years, there would be no matter how many went out afterwards; for there would be a surplus produce from those who had at first emigrated. He has no doubt but that, if emigrants were properly selected from different parts of the country, where there was an excess of population, they would, after being settled in Canada, invite their friends, and produce a voluntary emigration, without the aid of Government; because this is the case at present in numberless instances. And if the sums to be repaid were applied for the purposes of the province, in liquidation of some expenses now incurred by the mother-country, it would be satisfactory to the inhabitants. The opinion is universal that the clergy-reserves are an impediment, chiefly as an interruption to roads; because they are, generally speaking, unoccupied, and there is no limitation to their occupation after the settlement of a township. There was an address of the House of Assembly for applying the reserves to the support of clergymen of different denominations, or of education, "but in which the legislative council did not concur." Page 206. Dr. Strachan.

Mr. Odell.

THOMAS ODELL, Esq., resides in the county of Limerick, where the general state of the poor is miserable indeed, the applicants for labour being so much above the demand that they earn almost nothing, not even sixpence per day. The removal of a part of the population would be advantageous to those who remain. The people are anxious to emigrate; for Mr. Odell applied, on behalf of a great portion, to the executive government. They consisted chiefly of persons who were reduced to a state of starvation by the division of

their small farms. Many who expected to be taken out by Mr. Robinson were disappointed, as he could only take a small number of those who offered. Some of them might have a little money, but they were all, more or less, in the character of paupers. Mr. Odell says, the practice of sub-letting continues, notwithstanding that clauses are introduced into the leases to prevent it; but he thinks that the proprietors will
Page 208. avail themselves of the late Act. If sub-letting be prevented, and no mode devised by Government for the support of the people, the consequences will be very serious.

Mr. Odell does not think that landlords would be able to come forward with a sum of money for the
Page 209. removal of the redundant population; if, indeed, the absentees were to subscribe, and the more intelligent of the local gentry, some might be induced to subscribe. He believes, on re-consideration, that many would be disposed to contribute if they had it in their power.
Page 210. He is of opinion that if the Government established a liberal system of emigration, it would soon extend far beyond what is calculated at present, and would materially benefit those who remained; but he thinks that the whole, or nearly the whole, of the original outlay must come from Government.

Mr. S. Rice. Thomas Spring Rice, Esq., M. P., considers the population redundant in particular districts, but is not prepared to say that it is so, taking all Ireland together, if proper measures were taken.

Where the proprietor is in immediate contact with the occupier, benevolence and interest would combine in inducing him to pledge an annuity or fixed contri-
Page 111. bution; but where there are many intermediate tenants or middlemen, it might not be the interest of any to

come forward. No very great proportion of proprietors disposed to contribute are able to do so; but as the number who take the management of their own estates is daily increasing, so would the disposition and ability to improve the condition of their tenantry, by contributing to a well-regulated system of emigration. For his own part, and speaking with regard to a majority of the inheritors of land with whom he has conversed, Mr. Rice is in favour of a fixed and imme- Page 212.
diate payment, rather than incumbering the property with an annuity; and from the communications he has seen, he should think that, both on principles of benevolence and interest, they could have no hesitation in making advances equal to those which have been suggested in this committee. He can conceive cases to exist, in which facilities might be advantageously given by receiving the payments by instalments; but as a general rule, he prefers, unquestionably, that of a fixed payment. On the whole, Mr. Rice is of opinion that Page 213.
there will be a very considerable disposition on the part of the Irish landlords to contribute. This evidence presupposes what he knows to be the fact, that the peasantry themselves are most anxious to profit by any scheme of emigration; but it will be visible to the Committee, that any attempt at a forced emigration would be peculiarly inapplicable, cruel, and dangerous in Ireland:—it is upon the principle that a certain proportion of the population is anxious to go, and to seek for that happiness and comfort elsewhere, which they cannot find in Ireland, that he thinks the tenantry Page 214.
would be anxious to go, and the landlords to assist them, at a greater pecuniary sacrifice than any he has here heard mentioned.

Mr. Bodkin. Page 214. 17 May.

WILLIAM HENRY BODKIN, Esq., is Secretary to the Mendicity Society, and has opportunities of knowing that the influx of Irish labourers into England has reduced the wages of some kinds of labour. In 1822 the Society gave 8*d.* per ton for breaking stones, by which a man would earn 1*s.* or 18*d.*; some only 8*d.*, or even 6*d.*; very few English would accept of such employment; but the Irish accepted it cheerfully, and were sorry when it was discontinued, which the Society did from a conviction that it was encouraging emigration from Ireland to a fearful extent. The Irish would flock over, had they a prospect of getting even 6*d.* a

Page 215. day. As bricklayers' labourers, and in the lower and harder kinds of employment of that description, the Irish are willing to work at lower wages than the English; and some particular kinds of labour they have secured to themselves exclusively, for they are generally found willing to do those kinds of work to which English labourers are averse.

Mr. Bodkin recommends an emigration of boys who infest the metropolis, and from whom the gangs of pickpockets and thieves are recruited. He thinks that many would be inclined to go, particularly such as are on the verge of profligacy and vice; and it might be fairly expected, that when removed from their present associations, and from the influence of bad example, they would betake themselves to honest employment. He is well acquainted with the public charities in London, and thinks that it would be possible to combine, with the general system of those charities, any well-digested plan of emigration; for he has heard many of their most active members so express themselves. He does not think that London parishes would be disposed to pay 3*l.* 10*s.* a year, for seven years, for removing a

family of four, because able-bodied labourers, which he presumes are contemplated, are not allowed to be permanently charged on the London parishes, and because the parishes would fear to induce people to become chargeable for the purpose.

COLONEL COCKBURN, in reference to question 1570, put to him on 28th April, submitted certain remarks, which, from their importance, are here given in full.

There appears (says Colonel Cockburn) to be no doubt that, if an emigration can be duly effected on an extensive scale, it will tend in a great measure to relieve the distresses existing in the mother-country, to improve the state of the colonies, and, at no very distant period, to establish, in a permanent and comfortable independence, many thousands of English, Irish, and Scotch, who are now experiencing all the horrors of beggary and want. Desirable, however, as it would be to carry through an arrangement so important and beneficial in its general results, it should not be concealed that the doing so must of necessity involve an expenditure of very considerable amount.

The evidence before the Committee would warrant, that the average cost of conveying a settler from this country, with a wife and three children, placing them on their lands, and supporting them for a year, would amount to about 110*l*., or about 22*l*. for each individual.

Mr. Robinson's detailed statement, for the 568 emigrants, which he took out in 1823, averages a few shillings more; but the proportion of men on that occasion was very great; (a strong proof that 22*l*. may, generally speaking, be considered as amply sufficient.) The sum paid by Mr. Robinson, for the passage and

provisions from Ireland to Quebec, amounted to about 7*l.* each; it would therefore be correct to divide the total expenditure into 7*l.* for the voyage, and 15*l.* for all ulterior charges. It will be seen, by reference to a report, which I had the honour of drawing up for the information of Lord Dalhousie, in the year 1821, and which his Lordship forwarded to the Colonial Department, that 167 families, sent out from Lanarkshire, averaged, as nearly as possible, five individuals to each family, the total number being 833, and that the expense incurred on account thereof, exclusive of the voyage to Quebec, was 11*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* each. But Mr. Robinson's settlers were provided with the following articles, none of which were estimated for in the enumeration of articles supplied to the Lanark settlers;—*viz.*

182 cows	£ 819
Farming utensils . .	230
Assistance in building houses . .	450
Guides to show the lands .	150
Seed-corn and seed-potatoes .	364
Medical advice and medicines .	100
Shoes and flannel	150
Total .	£ 2,263

Which, if divided amongst the 568 settlers, will account for near 4*l.* to each; thus making the expenditure on the Lanark emigration in 1820, and that conducted by Mr. Robinson in 1823, nearly equal. It should, however, be observed, in making this comparison, that the Lanark settlers were charged three shillings each for expenses of survey, and five shillings and ten-pence each for their patent grants; and that the assistance afforded to the Lanark settlers, after being placed on their lands, was an advance in money

by different instalments, amounting in the whole to 8*l.* for each settler, whether man, woman, or child, and which sum would have been equal to supplying provisions for them for eighteen months, the full ration consisting of one pound of flour and one pound of pork, and each of the 167 families receiving rations in the following proportions; *viz.*—for

1 man . . . . . 1 full ration
1 woman . . . . . ½ ditto
2 children . . . . . ½ ditto
1 child . . . . . ¼ ditto

The Returns from which these calculations are taken, are herewith transmitted, and marked Nos. 1 and 2. A return of implements supplied to the Lanark settlers is also transmitted, marked No. 3. I have been thus detailed in my reference to the relative expense incurred on account of the Lanark settlers sent out in 1820, and those of the settlers which went from Ireland in 1823, under the superintendence of Mr. Robinson, in the hope of thus affording to the Committee a fair data on which to estimate the expense of future emigration. In sending settlers to Upper Canada on any future occasions, I am not aware of any material saving which could be expected to take place. The present low state of transport, and making some alteration in the ration to be issued on the passage out, might reduce the charge from England to Quebec. I send herewith a return, marked No. 4, showing the prices at which the Navy Board would probably at the present time obtain contracts for conveyance and victualling of emigrants to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Montreal, by which the Committee will see the utmost savings which can be made in these respects, unless it be deemed expedient to make some alteration in the (Not entered.)

ration, and to substitute potatoes in the early part of the voyage, and oatmeal in the latter part, and dried fish during the whole period, in lieu of the pork, beef, and flour, at present issued. The expense of conveying the Lanark settlers from Quebec to the place of settlement was estimated, by the return marked No. 1, at 2*l*. 8*s*. 6*d*. each. The expense for the Irish emigrants, sent out in 1823, I should imagine was about the same; but the statements in Appendix No. 2, from page 58 to 61, are not sufficiently explicit to enable me to make an accurate comparison. The statement in Appendix No. 1, page 22, makes the expense of conveying a settler from Quebec to the place of his location 6*l*. 15*s*. This seems to me much over-rated, unless the emigrant is to be sent to the very distant part of the province. The statement of similar description, in page 23, estimates the expense at 3*l*. 5*s*.; one-half less than the preceding one. I take it, however, that the statement concerning the Lanark settlers, contained in return No. 2, and confirmed by Mr. Robinson's returns, will give a fair average of this part of the expenditure, and that the several items of expenditure cannot be estimated less than as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
Voyage to Quebec . .	6	0	0
From Quebec to place of settlement	2	10	0
Expense on land, including a cow to every four persons .	12	10	0
	£21	0	0

And that even to keep it as low as this, will require great care and management. The only practicable way, then, of lowering the expense of sending out and providing for the emigrants, must be by changing the

place to which they are to be sent; and in naming to the Committee the different places which suggest themselves in British North America, as fit for the reception of settlers, I shall endeavour to bring under consideration the relative advantages and disadvantages of each.

Nova Scotia.

Mr. Uniacke, in his evidence before the Committee, speaks in favourable terms of this province, and states the vacant and good disposable lands of the crown therein at 1,500,000 or 2,000,000 of acres, which, if the latter case be correct, would be sufficient for 20,000 heads of families at 100 acres each. In sending settlers to Nova Scotia the voyage might be considered as one-third shorter, and a saving be therefore expected in the price of transport; but not to the extent of one-third, as the difficulty of obtaining freight from Halifax would in some degree operate to the disadvantage of the ship. A saving from the place of disembarkation to the place of settlement might also be reckoned upon. Meat and flour are, I should imagine, of somewhat higher value here than in Canada; but if fish and potatoes were substituted as part of the provisions to be supplied to the emigrants, a great saving might be made in this respect, and the items of expenditure might then be supposed to stand as follows:

	£		
Voyage	5	0	0
Transport to place of settlement .	1	10	0
Provisions, including a cow to every four settlers, and supposing fish and potatoes to form a part of the rations .	10	10	0
	17	0	0

The latitude of Nova Scotia, and that part of Upper Canada to which the settlers have lately been sent, is

nearly the same. The climate of the two places is also very similar; but I should take Nova Scotia, from its vicinity to the sea, to be rather the healthier of the two; and the collieries in this part of British America hold out some further inducement to prefer sending settlers to it, rather than to either of the Canadas. If, then, these circumstances are considered, together with the relative expenses of sending settlers to Canada or to Nova Scotia, it will, I think, appear manifest to the Committee that the latter place holds out too many advantages to be overlooked, if any general emigration should be decided on.

New Brunswick, Cape Breton, Prince Edward's Island.

New Brunswick, Cape Breton, and Prince Edward's Island, although as yet not so far advanced in agricultural improvements as Nova Scotia, have each a considerable portion of good and vacant lands, say New Brunswick 2,000,000, or much more, if the boundary line is run in compliance with the claims of Great Britain.

Cape Breton 600,000.

Prince Edward's Island 50,000. But as these places are similarly situated, and hold out similar advantages as Nova Scotia, I shall class them therewith.

Gaspé.

The next nearest place for settlements is the eastern part of the Canadas, *viz.*, the district of Gaspé; and however much it may have been hitherto neglected, there are few parts of British America better worth attending to; this seems to be the very key to the St. Lawrence. The bay of Chaleur affords many good and safe harbours and anchorages, but none finer (indeed I believe there can be none finer) than the bay of Gaspé. There is already a considerable trade both in fish and timber to this place, which I have no doubt would materially increase in the event of the number of inhabit-

ants being augmented, by directing a part of the stream of emigration to this neighbourhood. It has long appeared very desirable, and for many reasons, that a communication from New Brunswick to Quebec, through the district of Gaspé, by the lake and river called Matapedia, and thence towards and along the shores of the St. Lawrence, should be established. The quantity of good and vacant land in this district is very considerable, and the supply of fish (but particularly salmon, herrings, and cod) highly abundant. The objections to this district are, the very few inhabitants, the small proportion of land which has been improved, owing to the greater part of the inhabitants living by fishing rather than by agriculture, the small supply of cattle and other provisions, the great want of roads, and the coldness of the climate. With respect to the latter, the inhabitants have, however, invariably stated it to be quite as good, or better, than Quebec. Most of these objections would evidently and gradually diminish as the country was settled; and the district of Gaspé, no doubt, become as valuable a possession to the mother-country as any part of British America, the attention of government once directed to this place. And I cannot but believe, that Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Lower Canada, would each contribute towards effecting a good and practicable road between Halifax and Quebec.

River Saguenay.

The next place in ascending the river St. Lawrence, where settlements might be effected to considerable extent, and with a fair prospect of success, is on the river Saguenay. The harbour of Tadousac, which is at the mouth of the Saguenay, is rather more than one degree to the northward of Quebec, and on this spot there are a few houses. The river Saguenay has not

been regularly surveyed; many persons have, however, ascended it, and from their reports it appears that this river takes a westerly direction, and is navigable for ninety miles, even for ships of heavy tonnage. The timber is said to be of that description which indicates good land; the climate to be about the same as at Quebec, and the fact of melons ripening in the open air has been ascertained. There can be no doubt, were settlements effected on this river, a large supply of fish might be obtained; but it will be evident all other supplies must, in the first instance, be sent there. The fineness of this river has long excited a wish to have settlements in its neighbourhood, and the doing so would certainly open a new timber country of much easier access from the ocean than any of those situated higher on the St. Lawrence.

Lower Canada.

The two parts of Lower Canada where there is the largest portion of vacant lands to be granted in free and common soccage, are the eastern townships and the left bank of the Grand or Ottawa river. There can be no doubt, that either the one or the other will afford sufficient means of locating a very large proportion of emigrants, but my own opinion is decidedly in favour of establishing the emigrants on the lands in the neighbourhood of the Ottawa, in preference to sending them to the eastern townships, for the following reasons:—

The French Canadians are apprehensive (and I think not without some cause) that ere long there will be a scarcity of that description of vacant lands, the particular tenure of which they consider best suited to their habits, and to which they have been invariably accustomed; the increase of their population of course affords just grounds for the increase of this apprehension. The distance and difficulty of communication from the east-

ern townships towards the river St. Lawrence is in evidence before the Committee; but I think no questions were asked as to the communications between the townships and the United States, otherwise it would also, I believe, have appeared that in such respect very little, if any difficulty, exists. If, then, the communication from the townships to the States is good, and to the St. Lawrence bad, it is surely evident that to the States the attention of those who settle in the townships will inevitably be directed. I have long regretted the encouragement which has of late been given to opening communications from the United States towards the south bank of the St. Lawrence; in the event of future wars, the impolicy of having so done will, I suspect, be felt. The barrier which *The Bush* afforded was the best which could be offered; it can no longer be said to exist. The best which can be offered in its place is a dense population of French Canadians, who, from the entire difference, not only in language and religion, but in every habit of life, will, I firmly believe, never be induced to mix or traffic with the Americans. Would it not be well, then, to appropriate the waste lands in that direction to an extension of seigneuries, and a continuous chain of French Canadian settlements from the St. Lawrence towards the States? The Forest.

A better militia than that of Lower Canada does not exist; a more tractable or well-disposed people than the lower orders of French Canadians I never saw. The front townships on the left bank of the Ottawa are, I fear, already disposed of; and this is the more to be lamented, as until arriving at Hull, scarcely any improvements have been made therein; were these front townships vacant, they would, on every account, be as

valuable as any lands in either province: their short distance from Montreal, the fine navigable river on which they are situated, the rich timber with which they are covered, the fertility of the extensive valleys lying in their rear, and the entire security of situation from American inroad or communication, all enhance their value; in addition to which, a canal is now cutting by government, in the township of Grenville, to enable vessels to pass up and down, without encountering the difficulties and dangers of the Long Sault Rapids, and with a view to establishing a communication between Lower Canada and the Upper Province distinct from the St. Lawrence. It is on these grounds that I should recommend the vacant lands nearest to the Ottawa, as more eligible for settlements than any others above Quebec; many rivers and streams run through them, and discharge into the Ottawa, which, in this part of it, is in no way inferior to the St. Lawrence, with the great and powerful advantage of having both its banks in your own possession. In proceeding up the Ottawa river there is no fear of settlers being allured over to the States; on placing them on lands in its vicinity, there is a fair prospect of their retaining the feelings and habits of the country they have left. Should the idea of making a water-communication from the Ottawa to Kingston, in Upper Canada, by means of the Rideau, be put in force, settlers so placed will be in the immediate neighbourhood, to assist in and be assisted by so extensive an undertaking. It is true there is a want of roads in this part of the country, but even in this respect I am not aware of any place where opening communications will be attended with more lasting or increasing advantages, or where less expenditure in this way will be re-

quired. A reference to any map of the Canadas will more fully explain to the Committee the advantages of this situation. The agricultural success and opinions of a man of the name of Wright, who has settled in the township of Hull, is, perhaps, the best proof that can be offered of the capability and richness of the soil.

The relative advantages of the various but more distant situations in Upper Canada are too well known to the Committee to require my entering into detail thereon; I shall, therefore, merely suggest, that on account of our principal naval depôt for Lakes Erie and Huron being now at Penetaugushine, I should recommend, in the event of emigrants being sent as far as York, that settlements should be established between Lakes Simcoe and Huron, in the vicinity of the Penetaugushine Road, and extending towards the Notawasawga River. The Committee are so fully aware of the nuisance arising from the clergy reserves, the hinderance to settlement, and the enormous additional expense incurred in establishing emigrants, owing to the want of roads, and to the inconvenience and injustice of persons holding large tracts of land, without in any way contributing to their improvement, that it will be unnecessary to enlarge thereon. I shall, therefore, conclude this statement with such remarks as I consider in like manner applicable to new settlements in general. No time should be lost in directing the officers administering the governments in the different colonies to send home returns, pointing out the different townships that have been laid out, the years they were surveyed, the present state of their population, the number of lots they contain, and distinguishing as minutely as possible the number of lots granted, and the

number still remaining vacant in each; or if emigration is really to be encouraged, I would suggest that some person should proceed to the different colonies to obtain still further and more particular information on the spot, and to make the necessary arrangements, in conjunction with the governors. The earlier communication could be had with the different counties in England, Scotland, and Ireland, so as to acquire some idea of the numbers wishing to go out, the better it would be; and I have no doubt that long notice of transport being required, would tend to the obtaining it at a lower rate. The number of emigrants to be sent out, once fixed upon, arrangements should be made for their subsequent removal from their present homes to the place of embarkation. At this first stage of their proceeding, the necessity of some positive limitation as respects the quality and quantity of baggage must be made. For the sake of stowage, their packages should be of equal and square sizes, and the number of them depend on the number of the family. This, perhaps, is one of the most important regulations connected with an extensive system of emigration; and if not duly enforced, the number of absurd and useless articles, for which Government will have to pay the transport, will be beyond description. Their place of disembarkation must, of course, depend on the particular parts of the different provinces to which they are to be sent; but this also should be fixed on as soon as possible, so as to afford early information thereon to the persons who must be employed in arranging the means of transport from the place of disembarkation to the place of settlement. And here perhaps it may be proper to suggest, that if there is any place in the provinces where emigrants are likely to be disembarked

in numbers for a continuance of years, it would be right to have some public building appropriated to their use during the time they remain, and an hospital, in which any of those may be placed who from sickness or other casualties on the voyage may be unable to proceed without such arrangement. The disembarkation of a number of emigrants would be a tax and annoyance beyond description to the inhabitants of the place. Each settlement should consist of four townships, and be under the direction of a superintendent, who would require the assistance of two clerks and two issuers. As the land in these four townships was taken up, the settling department, as above, might remove to other townships. Half-pay officers might perhaps be the best and most economical persons to fill the situations of superintendents. It would, I think, be well that a central spot should be fixed upon in each settlement, where the government might in the first instance clear and fence a space of about thirty acres, on which the storehouses and superintendent's office might be built with greater security from fire; the extra ground to be planted with potatoes, onions, and such like, and the produce appropriated to the support of the settlers, and as a part of their rations. A saw and grist mill would also tend in great measure to forward the prosperity of the settlement, and would doubtless in a very short time more than repay the original cost. Large buildings to be used as schools, and wherein the younger children of the settlers might be kept, would relieve the parents from the trouble of attending to the children, and thus place the parents at liberty to pursue without interruption the improvement of their locations. These buildings might, in the first instance, be used as churches, and

clergymen of the different religions should be sent to the settlement. The space cleared by government might, as opportunities offered, be given out in acre and half-acre lots, for the formation of a village; but no lot should be so given without due means being taken for ascertaining that the person receiving it will immediately erect a house thereon. Roads must be opened from the old settled to the new settled country; and it should be considered, that every pound laid out in this way will not only tend to the general advantage of the settlement, but most materially lower the price of transport. Tracks should also be cut through the woods, for the benefit of settlers coming in to fetch their provisions; and occasional finger-posts at the corners of the lots might prove very useful, and lessen the employment of guides. It should be a standing rule, that no person connected with the settling department should on any account receive lands within the settlement to which he belongs. Diagrams of the townships should be kept at the superintendent's office, for the public inspection of the settlements, so that persons entitled to receive lands might see the situation of the vacant lots, and choose for themselves; but no person should be located until he has seen and examined the lot he asks for, and then, previous to being located, he should sign, in a book to be kept for that purpose, that he has examined and is satisfied with his lot; after which no exchange should be allowed. The rules and regulations of the settlement should be read to every settler previous to his being located; and he should also sign to having heard, understood, and agreed to abide by them. No printed location-tickets should be given; they tend to make the settler imagine he has irrevocable possession

of his lot, and I have even known them converted to fraudulent purposes. In addition to their rations, the settler should receive seed-corn for their first crops, tools, nails, hinges, glass, &c., to assist them in building their houses; a proportion of blankets on particular occasions, and in some cases assistance in the coarser articles of clothing; leaving it at the discretion of the superintendents to grant additional assistance as a reward for industry, exertion, and good conduct, or in cases of sickness, wounds, or fires, might be beneficial; but whenever additional assistance is given, the reason for so doing should be publicly recorded. There should be a clever, humane, and active medical man in each settlement: persons on the half-pay of the army medical department would perhaps be the most fit and economical for this purpose. No lot should be appropriated or reserved on any pretence whatever, even for a single day, for persons not on the spot, and actually ready to commence its improvement. No settler should be allowed to leave the settlement without obtaining a previous permission so to do from the settling department; and if he does, his lot should be given to some other person; and this should be one of the rules most strongly impressed on the settler's mind. The common period for furnishing a settler with his deed is at the expiration of three years after he has commenced his improvement; and as it is to the possession of his deed that he looks forward as a reward for all his trouble, deprivation, and fatigue, it would, I think, be better that the deed should be so worded as to secure the government in the repayment of any sum advanced for the settler, rather than be withheld for a protracted period. I have already stated to the Committee my conviction, that an extensive system of emigration can only succeed if

carried on under the immediate control of the colonial office. The officers abroad will of course be in constant communication with the office at home; similar books and diagrams will of course be kept in London to those which are kept at the settlements, so that every previous information may be obtained here by those going out, as to the situation, success, &c., of those who have preceded them; the office in London would of course be also in constant communication with the different counties in England, Ireland, and Scotland; a general system of information might thus be regularly kept up. I have not considered myself in any way called upon, or indeed adequate, to discuss the mode of procuring funds to carry through an extensive system of emigration; but I would suggest, in mere allusion to this difficult and important part of the subject, whether some arrangement might not be made with those persons who hold large and valuable tracts of land in the colonies, either to receive and place settlers thereon, or to assist in defraying some portion of the expense of the emigration about to take place. Were courts of escheat once established, I cannot but think it would be of great and immediate advantage, for it would either oblige the proprietors to improve their lands, or would repossess the crown of millions of acres which might be settled at, comparatively speaking, a cheap rate; or might be sold for sums which would more than defray the present proposed expenditure. Having thus, in compliance with the directions of the Committee, offered some remarks upon what appear to me to be the leading points connected with the system of emigration and settlements, I will merely add my readiness to enter into further details, either generally or upon particular points, whenever called upon so to do.

Mr. WILLIAM SHEPHERD has been only nine months returned from the Cape of Good Hope; is of opinion that the present rate of wages at the Cape shows a deficiency in the labouring population, and that an emigration of labourers and artisans might be very beneficially encouraged to the colony. The wages of a labourer per day is from 3*s.* to 4*s.*, and of an artisan from 5*s.* to 6*s.*, and their maintenance about 2*s.* 6*d.* per day, by which an artisan would save 3*s.* or 4*s.* He does not think that the inhabitants of the Cape would be willing to guarantee to government the passage of indentured emigrants, because the present wages are too high, and may fall. Some perhaps might do it. The demand for labour is principally at Albany. Mr. Shepherd thinks that a resident settler at the Cape would employ a pauper from Ireland at the rate of 3*s.* per day; this pauper could maintain himself for 2*s.*, and therefore, by deducting 1*s.* per day, he would, in little more than one year, repay 16*l.*, the expense of his removal from Ireland. An artisan might get 5*s.* a day; deduct 3*s.* for lodging and subsistence, leaves 2*s.*, which would pay his passage in little more than half a year. The number of emigrants, with reference to those two classes, agricultural labourers and artisans, which the colony could absorb, would be about 500.

Mr. Shepherd. Page 226.

Page 228.

WM. BOWMAN FELTON, Esq., states that the climate of Canada is favourable to the cultivation of hemp, but the high price of labour renders the cultivation of it unprofitable, and it must remain so till the population becomes more dense, except some such plan as that which he suggested should be found practicable.

Page 229.

ANALYSIS OF THE APPENDIX

TO THE

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EMIGRATION.

No. I.

CONTAINS extracts from reports of American canal commissioners, by which it appears, that before the Erie or New York Canal, joining Lake Erie with the Hudson river, was begun, two plans were in agitation: the one, which has since been executed, the other to join Lakes Erie and Ontario, by cutting a canal on the American side round the Falls of Niagara, similar to the Welland Canal, now cutting on the British side. It was imagined, that if the produce of the countries west of the cataract was once afloat on Lake Ontario, it would, generally speaking, go to Montreal; and therefore it would be bad policy in the United States to open a communication for sloops from Erie to Ontario, from which there are only 206 feet lockage to the tide-waters of the St. Lawrence, while it is 574 feet to the tide-waters of the Hudson; consequently, the fear of diverting all the trade of the upper lakes to Montreal instead of New York determined them to adopt an internal canal. These extracts also show, that to connect Ontario with the tide-waters of the St. Lawrence, only sixty miles of canal are necessary, averaging about 34 inches per mile, very little deep cutting, the soil easy to dig, few or no streams or ravines to cross, and the supply of water certain and inexhaustible. Page 233

The most serious objection, say the American canal commissioners, to the route by Lake Ontario (now Page 234.

effecting by the Welland Canal) is, that it will inevitably enrich the territory of a foreign power at the expense
Page 235. of the United States. When a vessel once descends into Ontario, she will pursue the course ordained by nature. The British government is fully aware of this, and are now taking the most active measures to facilitate the passage down the St. Lawrence.

No. II.

Consists of papers respecting the expense of emigration to New South Wales, delivered by Mr. Eager. They give an outline of a plan for the conveyance and settle-
Page 237. ment of paupers in New South Wales, a country which possesses peculiar advantages for the accommodation of that immense mass of pauper population which press so heavily on Great Britain and Ireland. In New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land, the climate is good, Small-pox, measles, and hooping-cough are unknown—all domestic animals thrive—the soil is fruitful. One section only of New South Wales explored by Surveyor-General Oxley contains 62,500 square miles, or
Page 238. 40,000,000 acres, ten millions of which are on the banks of rivers and streams, well-watered, rich, fertile, and valuable for all purposes of grazing, cultivation, and settlement, and capable of producing in the greatest abundance wheat, barley, oats, Indian corn, tobacco, flax, and hemp, wine and oil, and of rearing and feeding horned cattle, horses, and fine woolled sheep, without number.

New South Wales excels every other British colony for poor emigrants in the article of convict labour, if properly applied. There are, at this present time, 1826, upwards of 25,000 male convicts, able-bodied crown labourers; of these 15,000 is quite a sufficient number

to be distributed among the settlers in the colony, and employed in the government works, and the remaining 10,000 are ready on the spot to be employed in clearing and preparing land for emigrants. Now the government has to feed, clothe, and lodge all the convicts not distributed among the colonists; and if these 10,000 labourers, or even part of them, were employed in clearing and fencing farms, and erecting houses on them, they would clear and fence a sufficient quantity of land every year for several thousand farms, besides erecting a house on each. Five thousand five hundred convict labourers will every year prepare 5,000 farms, with a good house and a sufficient quantity of cleared land, fenced and fitted for immediate cultivation, each adapted for the immediate reception and comfortable settlement of a labouring family. And all this may be done at little or no expense, it appearing, by Mr. Eager's estimate, that each farm will only cost 3*l.*, the price of implements and materials, or, to speak more correctly, the real expense that government would incur in preparing 5,000 farms would be the bare cost of materials bought in England, which amounts only to 3,000*l.*, or to 13*s.* 4*d.* per farm; because the convicts employed in preparing the farms must be subsisted at all events, and implements must be provided for them whatever labour they may be put to. Page 239.

Thus government possesses in New South Wales the means of preparing, at the trifling expense of 3,000*l.*, comfortable farms for 5,000 labouring families annually. The expense of transporting, settling, and subsisting for one year these 5,000 families, (consisting each of a husband and wife and three children, or five persons,) according to Mr. Eager's estimate, amounts to 752,500*l.*, or 150*l.* 10*s.* for each family. Page 240.

Mr. Eager derives the fund for defraying this expense from two sources—first from the poor-rates, and next from annual rents to be paid by the emigrants for their farms, commencing within a certain period after their settlement. The plan is, that 10*l.* per annum shall be paid from the poor-rates for fourteen years on account of each family of five persons sent out. The emigrant to pay an annual rent of 10*l.*, to commence at
Page 244. the end of the third year. Mr. Eager proceeds to submit a detailed plan of pauper emigration; and in order to ascertain the redundant population, he takes the amount of poor-rates as the best criterion; for the redundance he considers to be exactly the number, which, making allowance for aged and impotent poor and over competition, the poor-rates will wholly subsist through-
Page 246. out the year, which, from various calculations, he believes to be 688,355 persons, or 140,481 families, subsisted by poor-rates, who ought to be subsisted by the wages of labour, at an expense of nearly 5,000,000*l.* sterling per annum, 34*l.* 11*s.* 9½*d.* per family; and he concludes, that nearly the whole of this, or 30*l*, will be saved to the parish for every family that shall emigrate.

Page 248. The principles of the plan are—

1st. That the families to emigrate from each parish in England and Wales shall bear the same proportion to the paupers in such parish as the 5,000 families to the whole number of pauper families, *viz.*, 140,481.

2d. That at first, families volunteering to emigrate from their parishes to be preferred; then to be chosen by ballot; and such as refuse to emigrate, to be rendered incapable of parochial relief.

3d. That every family emigrating shall consist of an able-bodied healthy married labourer, mechanic, or

artisan, having a wife and, at least, two children; it being understood that none will be received but able-bodied labouring men, having families.

4th. That a contribution of 10*l*. per annum for fourteen years shall be paid from the poor-rates to the emigration fund for every family of five persons, to be applied in discharge of the expense of the conveyance and settlement of the emigrants at New South Wales.

5th. That each emigrant shall pay a rent for his farm of 10*l*. per annum in perpetuity, to commence the third year of his settlement, to be carried to the emigration fund, and applied in carrying on the system.

6th. That the money annually required to defray the expense of the conveyance and settlement of emigrants shall be raised, in the first instance, by loan, bearing four per cent. interest, to be secured by stock created on the rate, and guaranteed by Parliament.

7th. That the contribution from the rent shall be applied, first in payment of the interest of the loan, then in discharging the annual expense of the system, and the surplus, as it arises, in liquidation of the loan until paid off.

8th. That a board of emigration be established, consisting of members in England, and members in the colony of New South Wales, to conduct and manage the whole system.

Mr. Eager allows twenty-six years for completing the whole transaction, at the expiration of which period 140,481 families have emigrated; and, according to his calculation, the poor-rates reduced by the sum of 5,600,000*l*., besides paying up the money borrowed, and reserving annual rents in the colony to the amount of 1,400,000*l*. This plan does not call for the imposition of any additional expense upon any class,

Page 255.

or fund in the state; on the contrary, its great feature is the immediate and permanent relief it will afford to the poor-rates. Indeed it is capable, Mr. Eager says, of demonstration, that the effect of the plan would be, not only to remove pauperism and reduce the poor-rates, but defray the entire expense of the
Page 256. criminal police of the empire. The plan will also be most beneficial in a variety of ways. It will become a school of correction and reform to the convicts employed, and more than compensate the state for the expense of their maintenance, by converting them into profitable labourers. It will create a British colony rich in climate, soil, and natural resources; employ 50,000 tons of shipping and 4000 sailors annually; open an increasing market for British industry and manufactures, and place the maritime and mercantile power of the empire on the most advantageous footing in the Indian and Pacific oceans. In a word, England will be relieved of her paupers, who, instead of being burdensome, will be converted into productive and profitable members of the state; the wages of labour will be raised to their just and natural standard, and realize all the moral and political advantages which must naturally result from the gradual extinction of pauperism and the poor-rates.

Page 258. Mr. Eager next applies his plan of emigration to Ireland, where there are no poor-rates, proposing an assessment of 2*l.* 12*s.* per family on each parish, to continue forty-five years, the present value of such an annuity being 52*l.*, and a loan of 100*l.* for each family, to be repaid by the emigrant, making up 152*l.*, the expense of transporting, settling, and subsisting a family for a year.

The emigrant may the first year have ten acres in

cultivation, and reap 150 bushels of maize; the second year fifteen acres, and his produce 150 bushels of maize and 100 bushels of wheat, of which he will consume 50 bushels of each; the remainder he may sell, 100 bushels of maize at 3*s.* 6*d.*, and 50 of wheat at 7*s.*—35*l.*, and his expenses of all kinds for clothing, tea, sugar, *&c.*, will not exceed 30*l.*

The third year his surplus produce will sell for 43*l.* 15*s.*, so that, after retaining as much as he expended for necessaries the second year, he will be able to pay a rent of 10*l.* Every future year the farm will be in full cultivation.

Mr. Eager next proceeds to apply his plan to emigrants possessing small capitals of 50*l.*, 100*l.*, and 200*l.* respectively. Each class will require assistance from Government. The first class, to the amount of 127*l.*, each family, to be repaid by instalments of 20*l.*, which, from estimates, it appears the settler may commence at the expiration of the second year; and at the end of the ninth the debt, with interest, will be paid up. Page 269 to 280.

Class 2d, having 100*l.* capital, will require, each family, assistance from Government to the amount of 110*l.* 10*s.*, to be repaid as before by instalments, which the settler will accomplish at the end of the eighth year.

Class 3d, having a capital of 200*l.*, require assistance, each family, of about 78*l.*, which may be paid in two instalments, the third and fourth year of the settlement.

The expense of carrying 120 single women to New South Wales, including everything necessary, Mr. Eager estimates at 27*l.* each. Persons of this description, it appears, are very much wanted, the male population being much greater than the female. Page 282.

No. III.

Page 283. On the subject of Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope from Ireland, of 400 individuals at the public expense.—Mr. Ingram arrived in the colony in the month of April, 1820, with twenty-seven men, twelve women, and twenty-nine children. The men were chiefly mechanics and labourers, for whom the sums required to be deposited were advanced by Mr. Ingram in England, for which they were to serve him three years at a certain low wages, and at the end of that term to receive the sum of 10*l*., or twenty acres of land.

Mr. Ingram states, that 407 persons were mustered on board the Barosa, which the Commissioners, who make this report, believe was faithfully performed; but 352 persons only disembarked, although no deaths or accidents occurred during the passage. A large majority of these emigrants obtained employment by making agreements with new masters, or by agreement between them and Mr. Ingram to pay him 300 rix-dollars for each male, 200 for a female, and 150 for a child. On the 8th of July, 1824, one hundred and twenty men, forty-four women, and eighty-two children had been transferred to individuals in and near Cape Town. Fifty-one are employed by Mr. Ingram on his estate, or in preparing materials for building his wine-sten. Eight persons have died since their arrival, chiefly through the intemperate use of spirituous liquors, or by copious draughts of water taken in hot weather. In other respects the state of their
Page 283. general health has been good. Mechanics and useful tradesmen gain from three to four rix-dollars per day, with subsistence and lodging, and are in general doing

well. The common labourers generally demand a rix-dollar and a quarter or two rix-dollars per day, besides subsistence, which may be rated at half a rix-dollar; but they have not been able to procure regular labour at this rate—the hire of a slave, or free coloured labourer, not exceeding twenty rix-dollars per month, with subsistence and lodging. The great obstacle to their success is the large sums that they have engaged to pay Mr. Ingram. Children from twelve to fourteen years, as apprentices, have been much sought after; children of eight years can earn their subsistence; those of ten years obtain four or five rix-dollars per month, and more as they grow older. The price of labour, notwithstanding the importation of so many European labourers, does not seem affected; it is, nevertheless, nearly as low as comports with the maintenance of a large family; for though provisions are cheap in Cape Town, lodgings are dear.' Mechanics and tradesmen of all descriptions find ready employment, both in town and country. It is admitted generally, that the importation of European labour has been beneficial to the colony, and the industrious labourers themselves are in general well-contented with their circumstances.

Page 284.

Page 234.

The supply of labour is still considered deficient, so that Mr. Ingram's experiment, on a limited scale as to numbers, and on terms more favourable to the labourers, might be encouraged by the British government with benefit to the colony, and especially to the district of Albany, where the wages of labour are very high, and not likely to be reduced by the natural supply. The remainder of the report is taken up with the mode of enforcing indentures, and advising that Europeans sent out may incur no more expense than what may be suf-

ficient to repay for sending them out, and the importance of extinguishing the evil of slavery in the newly-planted settlement of Albany.

No. IV.

Correspondence respecting the emigration conducted under Peter Robinson, Esq., in 1825. Colonel Fitz-
Page 286. gibbon states, that he is a native of that part of Ireland whence these settlers came:—"I speak their own "language, and have conversed with many of them; "and I do assure those who feel an interest in the
Page 287. "welfare of these poor people, that they make a very "just estimate of the circumstances in which the go-"vernment has placed them, and are grateful, in the "highest degree, for all that has been done for them. "They are almost all settled in their lots, and are "making great exertions; some of them to an extent "almost incredible." This letter is dated York, Upper Canada, Dec. 26, 1826, a few months after their arrival.

Tho. T. Orten writes from his Land Register Office, Port Hope, Dec. 13, 1825, which is in the vicinity of the former settlement—"Within a few days I have
Page 287. "visited the township of Smith, &c. &c., and I find "the emigrants are, for the greater part, gone on "their lands allotted to them." And Thomas Alexander Stewart, Esq., writes from Duero, January 20, 1826:—"I am here living in the midst of them (emi-"grants); from twenty to thirty pass my door almost "every day. I visit the camp every week, and at all "times I take an opportunity of conversing with them "on their affairs. I have always found them satisfied "and happy. Some of them have told me, with tears "in their eyes, that they never knew what happiness

" was until now." And Mr. Robinson, the Superintendant, writes to Mr. Wilmot Horton, Under Secretary of State, that the emigrants were in a fair way of realizing, in the fullest manner, every expectation which could have been formed, and that there was not the slightest ground, as there is not to this moment, for considering the emigration of 1825 disastrous in any sense of the word. After giving a short detail of the voyage to Quebec, and thence to the land allotted for the settlement in Upper Canada, the latter proceeds:—" The location of the emigrants, by far the " most troublesome and laborious part of the service, " has long since been completed, and I have had a " small log-house built for each head of a family on " their respective lots, where they reside; and it gives " me much pleasure to be enabled to assure you, that " they are obedient and well conducted, and busily " employed in preparing their land for crops. Their " letters to their friends in Ireland, a packet of which " I now inclose, will abundantly prove what I as- " sert." Page 288.

Mr. Robinson incloses a return of Irish emigrants, settled in the district of Bathurst, Upper Canada, in the autumn of the year 1823, from which it appears that, on the 14th of March, 1826, or in less than two years and a half after their settlement, and including only two harvests, the total number of persons was 477; that there had been twenty deaths and sixty-three births. That these emigrants had cleared 778 acres of land, raised 4,826 bushels of grain, 21,469 bushels of potatoes, 11,145 bushels of turnips; had acquired 298 head of cattle, two horses, and 201 hogs. That the heads of families brought from Ireland were 182.

At the date of the return, heads of families on their respective lots	120
Dead	8
Absent without leave, but supposed to be in Canada	12
Gone to the United States	9
At work in Canada	32
Returned to Ireland	1
	182

Page 293. So much for the emigration of 1823; but Mr. Robinson also incloses the state of the Irish emigrants sent to Upper Canada under his superintendence, in the summer of 1825, dated 15th of March, 1826.

Embarked at Cove	2024
Joined in Canada	12
Born, and now in the district of Newcastle	33
	2069

Distribution.

Located in Newcastle district	1878
Ditto in Bathurst district	55
Met with friends, and remained in Quebec and Montreal	28
Absent without leave	4
Died on the passage, two men, two women, and eleven children	15
Remained at Kingston	2
Died in Canada, twenty-nine men, twelve women, and forty-six children	87
	2069

No. V.

Letters from the Comptroller of the Navy, &c., on
Page 294. the rate of contract for carrying emigrants from Ireland

to Quebec, state that the expense of freight varies, being subject to all the fluctuation of the trade of the country; and as the demand for shipping was greater in 1825 than in 1823, the freight was higher.

	£.	s.	d.
Total rate per head in 1823, for freight, provisions, surgeon, &c.	6	18	0
Ditto for 1825	7	14	10

being an increased expense, amounting to 16*s*. 10*d*.

No. VI.

Being a letter from the Agent of the Passengers' Office at Liverpool, on the charge of conveying emigrants from that town to America, dated Liverpool, May 4, 1826, in which the writer, W. S. Fitz Hugh, says— Page 295.

"I have, during the last three years, engaged passengers for Quebec from this port as low as 2*l*. 10*s*. and 2*l*. each; and within this month past, single passengers have been taken for 3*l*., the owners of the vessel paying out of that sum the expense of births, water-casks, and fuel." Mr. Fitz Hugh adds an estimate of the expenses of chartering a vessel at Liverpool to carry passengers from a port in Ireland to Quebec:—

A vessel of 300 tons will accommodate 200 passengers, according to the usual proportion of children, that is, 109 adults, forty children under fourteen years, and fifty-one children under seven years.

	£.	s.	d.
Ship of 300 tons, at 21*l*. per ton	315	0	0
Cost of timber, &c. in building births	26	0	0
Water-casks and water	69	0	0
Beds, bedding, &c.	100	0	0
	510	0	0

Average 2*l*. 11*s*. per head.

Provisions, if furnished by themselves, 1*l.* 10*s.*; if provided for them, 2*l.* The whole expense in the one case 4*l.* 1*s.*, and in the other 4*l.* 11*s.* The Passengers' office, of which Mr. Fitz Hugh is agent, was established by the American Chamber of Commerce at Liverpool, in consequence of the numerous impositions to which emigrants embarking at that port were exposed. Such impositions can be no longer effected, and passengers may be obtained, or ships chartered for emigrants, through Mr. Fitz Hugh, on the most economical terms.

No. VII.

Contains extracts from ten addresses to Sir Peregrine Maitland, from different districts of the Province of Upper Canada, expressing great satisfaction at the recent emigrations, and cherishing hopes that they will be continued "till the beautiful and extensive "tracts of unoccupied land shall be filled with an "industrious and loyal population." One of these addresses is from the Irish emigrants of 1825, whom his Excellency visited in February, 1826, in which they express the strongest gratitude to His Majesty's Government, and their satisfaction with the treatment they had received since they embarked.

No. VIII.

Consists of papers from the Colombian Agricultural Association, respecting the advantages to colonists in the tract granted to the Association by the Colombian
Page 301. government. The first is a letter to R. Wilmot Horton, Esq., M.P., chairman of the emigration committee, written by Sir Robert Wilson, at the desire of the directors of the Colombian Agricultural Association,

making an offer of a tract of two hundred thousand acres of land in the Gibraltar district, situated on the eastern shore of the Lake Maracaybo, that it may be settled by "British emigrants, sent out and located "by the British Government, free of all expense to "the Association. Should, however, any aid be re-"quired from the artisans and mechanics now esta-"blished at, or on their way to, Gibraltar, that aid "would, of course, be given on such equitable terms "of recompense as the British Government would not "hesitate to allow."

Sir Robert Wilson states in his memorandum, that Page 304.
the Colombian Association is possessed of one million of acres of land in Colombia; but, at present, they are desirous of settling two hundred thousand acres near the eastern side of the Lake Maracaybo. In selecting the lands, due regard has been paid to salubrity of climate, and its adaptation to the constitutions of Europeans. The first experiments in agriculture have been attended with the most favourable results: the harvest of maize, rice, &c., being described, by the last accounts, as about to commence, and the crops looking very promising. From these results the Association consider the previous representations of the fertility of the soil as, in a great measure, confirmed; and have, therefore, the less hesitation in holding out every encouragement to the industrious and enterprising emigrant. The privileges and immunities of settlers on the lands of the Association are stated in the contract with the Government of Colombia.

1. They shall be exempt from all military service during ten years, excepting as regards the local de-

fence, or the defence of the province in which the establishment is placed.

Page 306. 2. All agricultural implements and machinery shall be free of import duty; and all ready-made clothing for the use of the colonists.

3. During six years, reckoned from the date of the establishment of each, they shall enjoy, both in the waste lands and in their persons, a total exemption from direct contributions and ecclesiastical tithes. —They shall, however, pay the excise, if there be any; the price of articles of monopoly which they shall consume, and generally all other contributions known under the title of indirect.

4. The colonists shall, however, be subject to municipal contributions, and those of the local police.

12. All the colonists, or settlers, who arrive in Colombia in consequence of this contract, shall strictly conform to the laws and constitution of the Republic.

13. It not being permitted openly to observe any other form of religion than the Roman Catholic, the colonists must, in this respect, conform to the laws and regulations of the constitution; but they will not in any way be molested on account of their belief.

Page 308. Colombia produces, at present, cocoa, coffee, cotton, indigo, sugar, rice, maize, tobacco, wheat, and European grains.

No. IX.

Page 310. A letter from Major-General Smyth, respecting the distressed state of the population of the Scilly Islands, which arises from its excess. The population has more than doubled within the last thirty years, and the excess is an evil which is visible in all their em-

ployments, whether as causing the subdivision of their bits of land, or in the piloting of vessels. Formerly there were only four pilot-boats, now there are at least twenty. In making of kelp, there being only so much of the raw material to be gathered, or in the lobster fishery, by excessive competition they impoverish each other.

The portion of the population which might possibly be removable, consists of those who are least in the way at present, and who make no complaints; young men, from eighteen to twenty-eight years, though, no doubt, they partake of the island resources; and as they marry at an early age, and, from the perilous nature of their employment in their boats, it is calcu- Page 311.
lated that not more than one-fourth of the males reach an advanced age; that one-third are drowned; and hence, of the number of families on the Island of St. Agnes, one-third consists of widows and their children.

No. X.

Showing the relative proportion of births to burials in certain parishes in Sussex, delivered in to the Committee by Mr. Curteis.

1. *Beckley*, from 25th March, 1824, to 25th March, 1826.

Baptisms	107
Burials	27
Increase in two years .	80

Dissenters are not comprehended in baptisms, but their burials are enumerated.

2. *Ewhurst*, for five years, beginning with 1821, and ending with 1825.

Baptisms	210
Burials	74
Increase in five years	136

Dissenters' baptisms not included; their burials are.

3. *Herstmonceux*, for five years, beginning with 1821, and ending with 1825.

Baptisms	172
Burials	69
Increase in five years	103

Dissenters not included in baptisms; their burials are.

4. *Ninfield*, same five years.

Page 312.

Baptisms	123
Burials	55
Increase in five years	68

Dissenters' burials, but not baptisms, included.

5. *Wantley*, same five years.

Baptisms	129
Burials	63
Increase in five years	66

Dissenters' burials, but not baptisms, included.

Page 312.

No. XI.

Consists of extracts from evidence taken before the Committee on the State of Ireland, 1824 and 1825.

22 May, 1824. W. W. Becher, Esq., M.P., is aware that some experiment has been tried in the County of Cork, with reference to emigration, and that there was a disposition

on the part of the people to profit by the facilities to emigrate, which were last year (1823) held out to them. At first they were anxious to go, then they thought there was some trap or deception. Afterwards this impression was removed, and they became again anxious to go. Witness has seen many letters from the emigrants to their friends and relatives, describing, in terms of the greatest satisfaction, the way in which they had been treated, and pointing out to their friends the advantages of emigration to Canada. This has produced an anxiety to emigrate, and there was great disappointment at emigration not going on when Mr. Becher left home. The population is generally greater on farms held under middle-men than on other farms, and on re-letting such farms, the population is diminished, the number of houses reduced, and a number of small farms consolidated into large ones. This has, indeed, become the general practice; but Mr. Becher has not observed, that this system has yet been so acted upon as to dispossess any great number of people. They generally get settled somewhere; there is still abundant facility to get ground if they will offer for it. The disposition to consolidate farms increases, but not to lay them down in grass to any great extent. Landlords are now preventing under-letting if they can. Page 313.

Dr. J. R. Elmore states, that it appears to be the disposition of the landlord to consolidate farms for his own sake, for if he has a farm of twenty acres, which people can manage, and there are twenty upon it, the eighteen are eating up the produce of the land; but if you turn these eighteen to productive labour, they will come to the other two, and will purchase every thing, supposing they earn only a few shillings per week. 16 June, 1824. Page 318.

One Catholic gentleman, in witness's neighbourhood, gives no leases; he has a large estate, and is also a middle-man. The people are satisfied with his word, and he gets more rent than any other person, because he attends to their comfort. The consequence of consolidating farms is to force the people into towns and villages, or to emigrate; and it was one of the principal causes, that the people themselves stated, of their disturbances.

17 June, 1824. Dr. John Church has known a farm let, perhaps thirty years, to one individual, or tenant, and when it was out of lease, it was covered with a thick population, and most of them paupers; and it is a very puzzling thing to know what to do with the people in such cases. The witness, in his own practice, has endeavoured to ease the people as far as was compatible with doing justice to the landlord. Bad characters merited no consideration; for others he has reserved a few acres to divide into small lots, giving the consolidated farm to a responsible tenant. If the former tenant was good, he was not turned out if able to hold the farm; and in this way he has endeavoured to preserve the interests of the landlord, and provide some place for the poor residents. People, when driven from their farms, go to each other's houses, perhaps half a dozen to one, and it is astonishing upon what little some of them live.

18 June, 1824. Mr. James Lawler says, that the estates under his care are partly in the hands of middle-men, and partly in the hands of occupying tenants. It is invariably his practice, when leases fall in, to give it to the tenant in possession, except where a gentleman has kept land himself. He frequently finds more people on a farm than he wishes; some he puts upon coarser parts of the

Page 314.

land; others he is compelled to let shift for themselves, but he endeavours to provide for them in one way or other, because they are so much attached to the soil they are upon. And he finds no difficulty in making these arrangements; there is no people on the earth that are more amenable to the law than the Irish peasantry, if they are let alone. Page 314.

W. H. W. Newenham, Esq., considers the facility of emigration would be a great thing to the country, situated as it now is; but he can suggest no measure for retarding the increase of the population; for no sooner does a person in Ireland in the lower state of society come to a state of manhood, than his first thoughts are to get married; he puts up a miserable hovel, without having the least idea how he is to provide for a family. 7th June, 1824.

Justin M'Carthy, Esq., thinks, that the power of preventing sub-letting and a system of emigration would be likely to produce a considerable effect in retarding the progress of population. 9th June, 1824.

The Rev. Michael Collins conceives that the great cause of scarcity and distress is, that there is nothing to draw off the surplus population from exclusive dependence on the soil for support: they look to the land alone for the means of employment. As leases fall in, the landlords, believing the cause of their distress to be the overstocking the land with people, turn them out of their lands entirely. These poor people, not getting employment, either erect temporary habitations like sheds, on the highway, or they come into towns and crowd themselves into small apartments, perhaps four or five families in a hovel or garret together, without clothes, or bedding, or food, living upon the chance of employment in the town as labourers. That employment they cannot procure. About a month ago, witness 14th June, 1824.

saw a farm of 500 acres, that had forty families residing on it, thinned in this way. These forty families consisted of 200 individuals: of these, 150 were dispossessed; they were allowed to take with them the old
Page 315. roofs of the cabins, that is, the rotten timber and rotten straw, and with these they contrived to erect sheds on the highway. The men could get no employment, the women and children had no resource but to beg, and really it was a most afflicting thing to behold them upon the highway, not knowing where to go to. This system is becoming prevalent, and Mr. Collins conceives the cause of the distress to be the excess of population, with want of employment; and there being no legal provision for securing subsistence for those poor people that are thrown as destitute vagrants upon the world. Mr. Collins thinks that the tendency on the part of landlords to turn off, in that unmerciful way, their surplus stock, as they call it, of men, would be considerably checked, if there were some legal obligations imposed upon them to provide for those poor people till they could provide for themselves, or to do as he has heard was done in Scotland, by the Marchioness of Stafford, when she lessened the population on her estates. She procured temporary accommodation for the deprived tenants, shipped them at her own cost for America, and settled them there; and these people are much better off than they would have been had they continued in the Highlands. Witness thinks that a plan of emigration might answer very well for the present, but unless some other plan was adopted to check the progressive disproportion between employment and population, the evil would be of constant recurrence; and then the system of emigration should be kept up perpetually.

John O'Driscol, Esq., thinks, that the people living

in Dunmanaway and Clonakilty, in the county of Cork, are in the worst possible state; the land is over-peopled and exhausted. Where estates are fully improved, Mr. O'Driscol is of opinion that sub-letting is not expedient; but on waste lands he thinks it is.

Francis Blackburne, Esq., states, that a lease had been made by Lord Stradbrook, or his ancestor, of a farm of between four and five hundred acres for thirty-one years. It expired in 1823. The land had been sub-divided to such a degree, that he believes there were between forty and fifty families resident upon it. Lord Stradbrook's agent took possession, which the people gave him in point of form, and he let them back upon an understanding, that when tenants were provided, and a new disposition made of the property, they should give up possession, Lord Stradbrook's object being to consolidate these farms by retaining a great number of the old tenants, and enlarging their tenements. Mr. Blackburne believes that contracts were made by his Lordship's agent for new lettings, but when possession was demanded, it was refused, and Lord Stradbrook was obliged to bring an ejectment. There was no defence, and the agent, attended by the Sheriff and several men to assist him, went upon the lands and dispossessed this numerous body of occupants. They prostrated the houses, leaving the people at liberty to carry away the timber. The number of persons that were thus deprived of their homes was very large, about forty families, but he cannot tell the number of individuals; they were of all ages and sexes, and in particular a woman almost in the extremity of death.

Page 316.

Major Warburton thinks, that the population is so great, that a partial failure of the crop would cause starvation, for the whole district appears a continued

village. A family, in many instances, have not more than one acre; in many they have not an acre; each family may average four or five children. The land, Major Warburton believes, was originally let in farms of ten, and twenty, and thirty acres, and has been sub-divided as the family increased. He does not think that, in this populous district, the enforcement of non-alienation covenants could be carried into effect; the people would all rise up in resistance. Major Warburton is of opinion, that the young men who receive any education, and who
Page 317. have so far risen in the grade of society, would be willing to emigrate, but that the general mass of the people would rather live in wretchedness where they are.

The Rev. Malachi Duggan says, that many families have emigrated to America, consisting of individuals of all ages, from a month to sixty years old. They find their situation so depressed, that notwithstanding their predilection for their native place, they were glad to
25th May, 1824. embrace an opportunity that offered a better prospect, and reports were circulated that in America they would better their condition. Those who emigrated were, in general, well-disposed people. There might be some idle among them, but the idle in general had no means to bring them to the other side of the Atlantic.

23d July, 1825. Robert John Wilmot Horton, Esq., M. P. — In
Page 317. the year 1823 it was considered that it might be desirable, with reference to the South of Ireland at that time, to encourage a small emigration, more as an experiment, than with any view that an emigration on so small a scale could produce any very beneficial results; and, as Mr. Robinson, the Superintendent of that emigration, is present, the details of it had better be derived from him. Mr. Horton speaks entirely as an individual, not being in the least authorized by Go-

vernment to say anything on the general principle of emigration. It is an admitted fact, that in parts of Ireland the population may be considered as redundant in the sense of the supply of labour being very disproportionate to the demand; and, in such a state of things, Mr. Horton imagines that no remedy could be more satisfactorily applied than emigration, carrying off that population, provided the expense is not too great. The total expense of the emigration to Canada, in the year 1823, according to Mr. Robinson's statement, including one year's provisions after location, in corn and all other charges (except the allowance to the superintendent), amounted to 12,539*l.* 3*s.*, making 22*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per head for 568 persons; but, with regard to the scheme of emigration generally, Mr. Horton is decidedly of opinion, that 20*l.* for each person, the proportion being one man, one woman, and two children, may be considered a correct estimate, which may be safely adopted, and which, he trusts, will be found sufficient to embrace the allowance of the superintendent. Mr. Wilmot Horton has a letter from Mr. Astle, of Dublin, containing two proposals:—the first of which, as compared with the expense incurred in 1823, for the transport of emigrants, exclusive of provisions and medicines, makes a saving of 257*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.* The second, a saving of 489*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

Page 318.

Page 322.

There is a sort of desultory emigration, which seems to be carried on on no fixed principle, in which emigrants may be carried at much less expense, but with greater inconvenience, than when sent by Government. The object in that case was to reduce the expense to the minimum that was consistent with the health and comfort of the emigrant.

Mr. Wilmot Horton sees no reason, in principle,

why the emigration which has been successfully carried on in 1823, may not be carried into effect to any conceivable extent. If a hundred men can be located at a given expense in Canada, why may not 100,000, 200,000, or 500,000, be located at the same rate of expense? In Upper Canada alone, 160,000 persons can be received, and in one district of Lower Canada, Gaspé, 500,000. And with respect to the practical question, as applied to Ireland, if you can remove a redundant population in a satisfactory manner, at 20*l.* per head, from a place where they are exposed to every sort of temptation, of outrage, and disaffection, to colonies where they become an orderly, satisfied, and contented peasantry, is it not worth while, in a national point of view, to incur such an expense for such an object?

The vote that Government has agreed to grant for the present year (1825) is 30,000*l.* The emigration of 1823
Page 323. was 15,000*l.*, 10,000*l.* only of which extended to the Canada emigration, the other five applied to the Cape of Good Hope. The vote for the present year is to be applied as in 1823, adopting any suggestions for economy that can be devised to make it less expensive.

The province of New Brunswick, as well as the Canadas, would absorb an enormous population, and there are other colonies capable of receiving emigrants without any limitation. In fact, if it be demonstrated that the removal would be a justifiable expense for the country to incur, it does not appear to me that there can be any sort of difficulty in locating the emigrants in the colonial possessions of the empire. A voluntary emigration, unconnected with any support from Government, and without regulation, takes place to Quebec. It commenced in 1815, and has increased from 5000 or 6000 to 12,900 in 1824. By far the

greater proportion, being little better than paupers, became a grievous burthen to the population of the towns in both provinces.

It is extremely necessary that the two distinct cha- Page 326.
racters of emigration should be kept separate; that which Government directs for relieving parts of Ireland where the population is redundant, and that which is voluntary; as the same political reasons may not make it desirable to encourage the one so much as the other. Communications between Committees appointed in Ireland and Quebec might easily be established.

The subject of emigration was not originally taken up by Government with the view of relieving English parishes, but witness had turned his attention to the subject. Confining the word redundant to the disproportion of the supply of labour to the demand (for Ireland, under more favourable circumstances, could contain six times the number of its present inhabitants, without involving necessarily the consequence of such a redundancy), he considers that the introduction of capital would have the most satisfactory tendency to absorb that redundance; but that capital would be more conveniently introduced after the absorption of part of the redundant population, by the means of a well-regulated emigration. At the same time he feels perfectly convinced, that unless the landlords of Ireland are completely concurrent in such a measure, it could not by possibility produce any good effect—and, on the other hand, those who are encouraged to emigrate should be satisfied, that the measure is specially Page 326.
intended for their benefit and interests, and not a mere system of removal under the authority of government. He disapproves of any condition that emigrants should

be obtained by a private contribution of so many pounds a-head, Government paying the remaining expense, because the emigrations of 1823 and 1825 are national experiments; but, if the attention of the gentlemen of Ireland were turned to the incorporation of any local system in Ireland, with this system the whole measure might be materially improved. Mr. Wilmot Horton does not presume to give an opinion as to what proportion the landlord should contribute towards removing and settling an emigrant. But he believes that the successful emigration to Canada has produced practical good in the district of Ireland from which it was taken. He thinks that there are districts in Ireland from which 200,000 unemployed persons might be abstracted with the best possible results. He feels more satisfied of the possible advantages to be derived from the removal of such persons, than as to the question how far the expense, in a national point of view, can be justified; but such expense is by no means thrown away, in a national point of view, for the colonies will be improved, their waste lands cultivated, and national wealth increased. The abstraction of a certain portion of the redundant population would be a good preparation for the employment of capital in Ireland, because it would produce an increase of tranquillity; for, if capital could be beneficially employed, it would flow into Ireland without any operation on the part of Government; and as to the four millions required to settle 200,000 emigrants in the colonies being lost to the country, if accurately traced for a series of years, this capital would be found to have reproduced itself in the colonies in a most beneficial manner;—it would unquestionably be a present outlay of capital, but ultimately there would be no loss.

Mr. Wilmot Horton does not mean to say that emigration, carried on on a small scale, can produce any material effect; but, upon an extensive scale, and coupled with local measures in Ireland to prevent that tendency of the population to increase as it has done, it would produce the most satisfactory result. 1825. Feb. 25. Page 328.

As an individual, he is not of opinion that an increase of population would accelerate the period at which Canada would separate from this country, and become one of the United States, but believes that such increase of population would produce the contrary effect: he cannot suppose that a population, removed from a state of great distress to one of comparative comfort, would be disposed to a separation from the mother-country. A proposition respecting the establishment of a steam-communication between Ireland and America was made to Lord Bathurst; in Page 329. answer to which his Lordship expressed his disposition to encourage it, and his general approbation of the application of that system.

The uniform satisfaction expressed by the emigrants, shows that they are pleased with the government of the colonies to which they have been sent, as well as the administration of the laws, and feel an assurance of a tranquil and happy settlement; and they find that, in as far as respects religion, there is no difference—all enjoy the same civil rights.

In Lower Canada the Roman Catholic may be considered a concurrent religion with the Church of England. The Roman Catholic clergy are entitled to tithes from persons of their own communion, being one twenty-sixth of the grain raised; and the Protestant clergy are to be supported from a reservation of land.

Page 330. The grant of 30,000*l.* this year, for the purpose of emigration, may be considered altogether as an experiment, as it is not likely to be carried on without some concurrence on the part of the Irish nation.

1825. Feb. 23. Peter Robinson, Esq., was employed as superintendant of the emigration from Ireland in 1823. He endeavoured to get such small farmers as had been dispossessed of their lands, or persons brought up in habits of agriculture. On first publishing the terms offered by government, some jealousy was excited, as if there was a wish to get rid of, instead of relieving, them; but meeting with friends who had been in Canada, and discharged soldiers and others, their suspicions vanished, and there was no difficulty in getting any number. Those selected were recommended by the noblemen and gentlemen of the county, as being absolute paupers, and such as it was particularly desirable to get rid of. Many more emigrants could have been got; they came alongside of the ship in numbers until the hour of sailing, and were always much disappointed at not being received. The provisions for the voyage consisted of beef, pork, oatmeal, cocoa, cheese, butter, biscuit, and an allowance of tea and sugar for the women.

The emigrants are much satisfied with their situation. The autumn was pleasant; they were very little exposed. They were at first encamped in the immediate neighbourhood of persons placed on their lands three years before, and saw how far advanced, and
Page 331. how comfortable they were. This encouraged them; and it is but doing them justice to state, that during three months that he continued with them in the forest, there was neither constable nor magistrate within twenty miles, and they were at all times

obedient, and were grateful for every act of kindness.

After the first year they will be able to provide Indian corn and potatoes sufficient; and those who have an opportunity of working during harvest, may supply themselves with wheaten bread. The cow given by government adds much to their comfort.

It does not appear to Mr. Robinson that there can be much reduction in the expense, except perhaps in the shipping. The emigrants did not object to the plan of provisioning them on shipboard, but they would have been better pleased with oatmeal. They invariably refused cheese on board, and were prevailed upon with difficulty to taste cocoa. Mr. Robinson knows of no other facilities or aid to render the emigration more easy or more cheap, than giving them provisions for the first year that they are placed upon their lands. Those who emigrated in 1823 have sent communications to their friends in Ireland, expressive of contentment and satisfaction with the change of their condition. Mr. Robinson obtained assistance from several of the Roman Catholic clergy in carrying his plan into effect, particularly from Mr. O'Brien at Newmarket, and Mr. Jones at Mallow; nor could he have succeeded had the Catholic clergy been opposed. The emigrants chosen were all represented as paupers; they were partially employed at home, living on one or two acres; and among them were found weavers, blacksmiths, and other tradesmen; a great proportion were industrious, and anxious to be employed. Mr. Robinson left the settlement in February last, but the surgeon, Mr. Reade, left it in November, at which time those who had boys to assist them had cleared ten acres, and put it in crop; and the remainder, on an

Page 331.

Page 332

average, four acres; nor was there any doubt of their being able to produce a sufficiency to maintain themselves and families. The lower class in Ireland are very much alike: Mr. Robinson found them much more intelligent than he expected; most of them could read and write, and calculate their allowance of rations to the eighth part of an ounce. This year witness has engaged 1600 persons, who are preparing to emigrate. Religious difference was frequently spoken of; and he is certain that the absence of any such difference in Canada tends to make them more happy and satisfied
Page 332. with their lot than in their own country. There were only ten Protestants among the 568 emigrants, and they all behaved well on the passage. Since they were settled in Canada, some difficulty arose from their ignorance, and the want of attention of those whose duty it was to have instructed them. On the 23d of April last the militia were called out to a general training, or muster, and among the rest the Irish settlers. At this meeting a breach of the peace took place; a warrant was issued to apprehend the offenders, and the constables, instead of going to the proper dwellings of these people, went to the depôt, where a great number were assembled who threatened resistance; the constables were frightened, and alarmed the magistrates, who sent a strong force to compel obedience, and one of the settlers was killed. These poor people were hardly and injudiciously dealt with, insomuch that both the judge and jury strongly recommended, that those of them who were convicted of having committed the assault should have their fines remitted, which was done accordingly.

Page 333. They were badly off for clothing, as government gave them only blankets and some bedding. They

were located about 300 miles above Quebec, and will find no great difficulty in procuring clothing for their wives, and they can work as labourers during harvest.

He was not in the habit of conversing with them about religious distinctions, but they frequently expressed their happiness in being in a country where there were none, and no tithes. There are in the neighbourhood two Catholic priests. There is one-seventh of the land set apart for the Protestant clergy, but none for the Roman Catholic. The settlers taken out in 1823 pay, after five years, a quit rent of twopence per acre, redeemable at twenty years purchase. In Upper Canada the Protestant religion is established, for the people are generally Protestants. In Lower Canada it is established also, but without detriment to the Roman Catholic religion, which in that province is the prevailing one. The Roman Catholic clergy are supported as they were before the conquest of the colony, and that support is ample.

Emigrants from the north of Ireland are principally settled in three or four townships in Upper Canada, and they are very flourishing. Some little religious feeling between the Irish Catholics and Protestants has appeared, in which they are mutually to blame; Page 334. but it is dying away, as the old settlers are perfectly indifferent, and will join neither party. Voluntary emigrants find no difficulty in getting lands to settle upon; nor are there any forms to go through which they cannot easily manage. The fees on a hundred acres may amount to 8*l.*, which may be paid two, three, or five years afterwards. Voluntary emigrants frequently remain at Quebec during the summer season, where they are employed in loading and unloading ships. They occasionally find their way to

Montreal, Kingston, and York, where they are sure to find work during harvest. At Quebec the demand for labour ceases early in October: the wages will average 3*s.* per day, and expense of living may be about 8*d.* He thinks the colony will be benefited by the arrival of the emigrants, to the full amount, in time, of the expense of sending them. The voluntary emigrants with large families suffer very much; it is distressing to see them land. The Emigrant Society of Quebec has relieved a great number, and assisted in getting them to Upper Canada, where in two or three years they get absorbed in the population of the colony. The old inhabitants are in general disposed to receive them kindly; and there is little loss by death.

From a letter from Mr. Buchanan, and the evidence of Mr. Astle, it appears that the Passenger Act operates very oppressively on voluntary emigration. The pas-
Page 335 & 336. sage used to be from 2*l.* to 3*l.*; it is now 6*l.* or 7*l.* The provisions appointed by the Act are not such as the Irish emigrant likes, or is accustomed to, and are also much dearer than those which he would furnish himself. There is no necessity for a surgeon. Mr. Astle admits that some regulations are necessary, else the cupidity of the brokers would crowd the vessels too
Page 337. much. Mr. Astle thinks that there is sufficient shipping employed in the Quebec trade to take out 100,000 emigrants every year. He thinks the expense of taking out the emigrants, considering what they received, not too great, but he believes a scale more economical might be adopted. He says, that the emigration has decreased latterly; at the close of the war it was from thirty to forty thousand, now it is from fifteen to twenty thousand. All descriptions of persons go, though not so many poor now, on account of the high

price. Almost all that now go are agriculturists, those that went some years ago were chiefly artisans. They go from different counties, almost every year, but chiefly from the northern and midland. More Protestants, Mr. Astle thinks, go than Catholics, considering the relative situation of the population.

The general custom of emigrating is for two or three of the youngest of the family to go first, and when these obtain a footing the rest are sent for. Mr. Astle thinks that the giving emigrants a free passage is enough; that at present they get too much. His reason for recommending that only a free passage be given to them is, that since fifteen or twenty thou- Page 338.
sand go yearly, and pay their passage, fifty thousand would succeed, not paying their passage. You might also make them deposit five pounds in Ireland, and give it them back when they get to Canada, which would prevent their becoming burdensome to the Colony. There is always abundance of labour and high wages at Quebec, which prevents the emigrants from Page 338.
going up the country; and then winter comes, employment ceases, and they become distressed, or are forced to go up the country. Yet most of them do well, for none of them come home. Mr. Astle has conversed with great numbers, who have come back to fetch their families, and all seem much delighted. Generally speaking, the lower orders view America as a kind of promised land, and commonly succeed in the Canadas. Witness has taken out emigrants, whose passage was paid by their landlords. He thinks the lowest Irish peasantry would make their way, after arriving at Quebec, if their passage were paid, and five pounds given them on landing, particularly if the first emigration possessed sufficient capital to locate them-

selves, because they would be able to employ the next year's settlers. He is only acquainted with Upper Canada, as being concerned in the trade.

Page 339. Major-General Bourke resides in the neighbourhood of Limerick, and is a magistrate, both in the town and county; is well acquainted with the relations between landlord and tenant in that country. He came to reside only in 1816, before which period subdivision had been carried to a pernicious extent, but since it has been diminishing. When the leases expire, the population is prodigious; owing to subdivision having been carried on to a destructive degree. During the war agricultural produce was high, and a small portion of land was sufficient to maintain a family; and when a son or daughter married, the father gave them a portion of his farm. Can hardly state how the surplus population is disposed of; some go upon bogs or uncultivated land, many wander up and down the country. Pasture-land also has increased since the war, and this multiplies the number of the dispossessed tenantry. The General thinks that the system of con-

Page 339. solidating farms is now universally acted upon; and it produces a great deal of misery. The case which occurred on Lord Stradbrook's property led to murder, burning of houses, and several other outrages; and at Croom there was difficulty in getting the tenants out—

Page 340. the military were called in. As long as there are no manufactures in the country, emigration appears the only remedy, but thinks it ought to be upon a general principle. Does not think that the void occasioned by emigration would be soon filled up, because the landlords will no longer admit sub-letting, and will see the necessity of keeping down the redundant population. He thinks that a greater extent of bog than of moun-

tain land is capable of improvement, and yet hardly at the present price of produce. The poor people are disposed to follow any sort of employment offered to them. Thinks the apprehension of capitalists, that their establishments would not be safe, is unfounded, as the people are tranquil when employed. Has known two general failures of the potatoe crop, and several partial failures, which may be attributed to the subdivision of land; and if the potatoes were raised upon large farms, and sent to market, the supply would be better. And where poor persons have given up cultivating land for themselves altogether, and have betaken themselves to labour, they have done better. The Major-General means to turn a proportion of his tenants, into labourers, by building cottages for them, attaching a small garden to each, of half an acre, or less. They are to hold these at will, to secure their good behaviour, and they may sell their labour at the highest price they can procure; but such a system, if general, would not absorb the whole of the redundant population, for vast numbers are without sufficient employment for their support.

Page 341.

Page 342.

Reverend Thomas Costello says, in one part of his parish subdividing has been carried to some extent, in another not. The subdivisions are oftener made by middle-men than the proprietors; for they say that a cottage with an acre of garden will nearly bring the same rent that three or four acres set in farm way would bring. Many show a great disposition to emigrate: some of them, cottagers and beggars, have gone out. They may have friends going to America, who pay their passage. The emigration ordered by Government was confined to the county of Cork; but some of Mr. Costello's people endeavoured to get themselves

Page 342.

on the list. They sell their interest in their holdings, their little furniture, their car and horse, which furnish means for going out, which costs only 7*l.* or 8*l.* a head. Knows none who have returned unsuccessful, but letters come inviting their friends to join them; for Mr. Costello has seen letters from tradesmen, who went to America, encouraging their friends very much to follow them. The emigration from Ireland last year was supposed to be for the purpose of removing the bad spirits.

22 April, 1825. J. S. Rochfort, Esq., says, population has increased very considerably, even doubled within twenty-five years, over the whole country. About three years ago there was a considerable emigration of the Protestants and but few Catholics, but does not think that there is any disposition to emigrate now. If a system of emigration were made serviceable both for landlords and tenants, many landlords would give a sum of money with each family, if Government would assist them to get rid of them peaceably. There is a great disposition on the part of the proprietors to remove the tenants as leases fall in, by which they are turned out in the greatest destitution. He scarcely knows how such subsist on the pittance they have; on charity, or employment, when it can be got; or, perhaps, they turn Rockites. He thinks that there is a great disinclination among the Roman Catholics to emigrate, but Protestants are very willing, and a good many have emigrated. The Roman Catholics feel a stronger attachment to the country than the Protestants do; for the Protestants consider themselves a superior class, and if they are not better off in life than the Roman Catholics, they will try to better themselves elsewhere, if they can.

R. De la Cour, Esq., says, the practice of sub- Page 345. 6 May, 1825.
letting is carried to a very great extent, and is one of the greatest evils affecting Ireland. He could state many instances, proving the extent of the evil, but one more especially. The original lease of the farm of Knockananig was dated the 18th of November, 1786. It was for three lives, originally made to a person of the name of Thomas Buckley. The farm contained one hundred and three acres, three roods, and thirty-two perches, of inland or arable ground; and one hundred and seventy-one acres and thirteen perches of rough or mountain land. Thomas Buckley demised to three persons, Daniel Sullivan, John Brien, and John Sullivan, one-third each; and the present occupiers upon that farm, whose lots were valued under the Tithe Commutation Act, stand thus:—Daniel Brien, one-ninth; Timothy Brien, one-eighteenth; William Barry, one-twelfth; John Barry, one-twelfth; John Brien, one-eighth; Dennis Creeden, one-sixteenth; Daniel Creeden, one-sixteenth; Daniel Sullivan, one-twelfth; John Sullivan, one-twelfth; Daniel Sullivan Mahony, one-sixth; and Daniel Sullivan the second, one-twelfth. John Barry demised one acre of his lot to a person of the name of John Dorgan; and John Sullivan demised three roods to Michael Croneen; so that under the valuation to ascertain the proportion that this farm should pay to the rector of that parish, it became necessary to ascertain what portion of the composition rested upon so small a portion as three roods of land.

Right Honourable Lord Carbery understood that Page 345. 12 May, 1825.
the disturbances which took place in the south latterly mostly arose from disputes between landlords and tenants. The tenants withholding their rent, and en-

deavouring to keep possessionof the lands, from which their landlords were desirous of putting them out—; but there is nothing of that kind in his lordship's part of the country. Lord Carbery thinks it utterly impossible that the number of persons found in possession at the end of the lease, could have maintained themselves with comfort; many of them were paupers. His Lordship has had non-alienation clauses inserted in all his leases, but has never acted upon them; they are thought hard, and juries will not find for the landlords; the consequence of this is the deterioration of the produce of land at least 25 per cent. His Lordship scarcely knows an instance of the entire failure of the potatoe-crop, even in the year of scarcity which last occurred, though there was a considerable reduction in the potatoe-crop; yet it was not so much the want of provision, as of the means of buying it, that produced the distress.

Page 346. His Lordship thinks it would be better both for farmers and labourers, if the small farmers were turned into labourers, and produce, through the agency of large farmers possessing capital, might be brought in larger quantities, better and cheaper, to market.

Page 346. Mr. James Cropper says, that a very considerable and increasing influx of Irish labourers is coming to Liverpool, and this influx will be still more increased by the stoppage put to sub-letting; and the coming of these labourers has in some degree lowered wages, though not much hitherto, as the cotton trade has increased so much, which, without these labourers, it could not have done. By means of steam-boats, the intercourse between the countries has become more easy, cheap, and expeditious, a passage between Liverpool and Dublin being only half-a-crown. It is Mr. Cropper's

decided opinion, that, if a state of comfort is not established in Ireland, the distress of Ireland must in the end come to this country. He considers the equalization of the laws between Protestant and Catholic would promote the measure; for he thinks if something is not done to give employment to the Irish people, the two countries will very much assimilate; and the present state of the Catholic question is one of the things which prevents that employment being given.

John Godley, Esq., says, that of late years the Roman Catholics have emigrated as well as Protestants, but not in the same proportion, nor of so good a description. The Protestants are more inclined to try their fortune, either by emigration or in the army.—Of 130 Chelsea pensioners, the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics.

J. R. M'Culloch, Esq., thinks, that emigration by itself would be entailing a useless expenditure upon the country, unless combined with other measures— *viz.*, preventing the splitting of farms, disfranchising the 40*s.* freeholders, and establishing schools upon a good principle; and then the void caused by emigration would not be filled up. Page 346.

The Right Reverend Dr. Doyle lives in the vicinity of a very considerable town, Carlow, into which there has been a great influx of poor people from the country, who occupy little dwellings, hoping to live by their labour. Whilst the prices of corn were high, they were able to support themselves in the mountainous districts and marshy lands, chiefly in Queen's County; but failing to pay their rent, they were obliged to relinquish their habitations, and crowd into the town. This is one cause. A second cause, early and improvident marriages, when there is no prospect Page 347.

of supporting a family. There is no manufacture in Carlow of any kind. An attempt was made to introduce the spinning of linen-yarn, but without success. Dr. Doyle is making an attempt to teach the children to make Leghorn bonnets, in which he hopes to make some progress. He thinks that there is great distress in all the towns of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, but still greater in Carlow. Sub-letting has contributed much to the redundant population. In the counties of Carlow and Queen's, it has gone to a very great extent, but not so far in the county of Kildare. This subdivision arises from joint-tenantcy, and the necessities and conveniencies of poor families. The district called the Colliery Country has been covered with a dense population during the last twenty or thirty years, previous to which it was almost a waste. The population is increased by improvident marriages; but even these are caused by the extreme poverty of the people—poverty paralyses their exertions—they cannot be worse than before—hence they go together. Moreover, when the head of a family is extremely poor, he lives in a wretched cabin, and has only one apartment, where he and his children dwell: it is so with his neighbour, and there is then a continual intercourse kept up in these small dwellings, so that the different sexes are mixed up together: and that respectful distance, which is always observed in families of
Page 348. any thing of rank, is lost entirely upon the poor. Hence it is, that if these people had some property that would give them an education and a feeling of self-respect, and would put them, as it were, upon their energies to seek a livelihood, they would look before them before they married; but now their very depression and their extreme poverty throw them together like so many

savages in a wood. "It is a frightful state of society, and when it is considered, it fills me with so much pain and horror, that I have frequently prayed to God, if it were his will, rather to take me out of life than leave me to witness such evils, if they were to continue; they are beyond the endurance of human nature!"

No. XII.

Report from the Committee on the payment of wages out of the poor-rate, states, that in some districts of the country, able-bodied labourers are sent round to the farmers, and receive a part, and, in some instances, the whole of their subsistence from the parish, while working upon the land of individuals, by which the parish is obliged to pay for labour which ought to have been hired and paid for by private persons. In other parts of the country, this practice has been carried on to a very great extent, for the sake of diminishing the income of the clergyman, and paying for the expense of one class of men out of the revenue of another. The evils of this system are as follow:— Page 348.

1st. The employer does not receive efficient labour from the labourer whom he hires. In parts of Norfolk, for instance, a labourer is quite certain of obtaining an allowance from the parish sufficient to support his family, and it consequently becomes indifferent to him whether he earn a small sum or a large one. It is obvious, indeed, that a disinclination to work must be the consequence of so vicious a system. He, whose subsistence is secure without work, and who cannot obtain more than a mere sufficiency even by the hardest labour, will naturally be an idle and careless labourer. Fre-

quently the work done by four or five such labourers does not amount to what might easily be performed by a single labourer working at task-work.

Page 348. 2dly. Persons who have no need of farm labour are obliged to contribute to the payment of work done for others.

3dly. A surplus population is encouraged; men who receive but a small pittance know that they have only to marry, and that pittance will be augmented in proportion to the number of their children; hence the supply of labour is by no means regulated by the demand, and parishes are burdened with thirty, forty, or fifty labourers for whom they can find no employment, and who serve to depress the situation of all their fellow-labourers in the same parish.

4thly. By far the worst consequence of the system is, the degradation of the character of the labouring class.

No. XIII.

Page 351. An Act to amend the law of Ireland respecting the assignment and sub-letting of lands and tenements—By which it is enacted, that when lands are held under lease made before 1st June, 1826, with covenant against sub-letting, no future act of the landlord shall be deemed a waiver of such covenant, unless he be a party to the instrument of sub-letting, or his consent be given in writing; and where lands shall be held by lease made after the 1st of June, 1826, not containing a clause authorising sub-letting, lessees shall not assign or sub-let, without express consent of the lessor, by writing or indorsement on the deed, &c.

No. XIV.

Contains abstracts of petitions or memorials transmitted to the Colonial Department since the 1st of January, 1825, from persons desirous of emigrating from the United Kingdom.

1st. English applicants are thirty-one in number, whose petitions include about one hundred and fifty-six families, who wish to emigrate, praying for land and a free passage.

2nd. Scotch applicants, in number seventeen, petition in favour of seven hundred and four families, who are desirous of settling in the colonies.

3d. Irish applicants, in number one hundred and thirty-two, petition in favour of several thousand families, who are desirous of emigrating from Ireland.

THE END.

LONDON:
Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES,
Stamford Street.

REPLY

TO

DR. LINGARD'S VINDICATION:

IN A

LETTER

TO

FRANCIS JEFFRAY, Esq.

FROM

JOHN ALLEN.

"HE THAT IS FIRST IN HIS OWN CAUSE SEEMETH JUST; BUT HIS NEIGHBOUR COMETH AND SEARCHETH HIM."—*Prov.* xviii. 17.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1827.

070:13
All/Rep

LETTER

TO

FRANCIS JEFFRAY, Esq.

You will probably be surprised at receiving a letter from me in print. A short statement will explain my reasons. I have never made a secret of my being the author of the two articles in the Edinburgh Review on Dr. Lingard's History of England. Indeed, I have reason to believe the fact not unknown to that gentleman. But, forced by his late publication to enter into a controversy with him, I think it right to drop even the thin veil I have hitherto worn, and in my reply to his Vindication, to avow myself the author of the criticism that called it forth. I am sensible that, in quitting the character, I must quit the authoritative style which custom has sanctioned in a reviewer. But, whatever advantages my former position secured to me, I forego them all the moment I am compelled to descend from my place as a spectator, and enter the lists as a combatant. Whatever angry or irritating language I have received or provoked in my anonymous

character, I shall endeavour to banish from my thoughts. In my observations on Dr. Lingard as an historian I should be sorry to be deficient in the courtesy and urbanity due to his reputation and his profession.

Some circumstances attending my original engagement in the task of reviewing Dr. Lingard's History of England, it will be necessary for me to state in my reply. These circumstances are known to you; I have therefore thrown my observations into the form of a Letter to you, that you may be my voucher for statements unknown to Dr. Lingard and to the Public, should the Public take any interest at all in the petty wranglings between an Author and his Reviewer.

Dr. Lingard seems to imagine, that in writing my criticism on his book, prejudice guided my pen, and that I was influenced by private antipathies and resentments against him.*

To this accusation I reply, that I am personally unacquainted with Dr. Lingard; that my first knowledge of his existence was derived from his excellent Reply to the Bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Huntingford, which I was at pains to disseminate; that the accounts I afterwards heard of him from many respectable individuals of his own persuasion, were calculated to give me a favourable impression of his character; and that, till I was led to a minute examination of his History of England, I had recommended it to all persons with

* Vindication, p. 8.

whom my opinion was likely to have weight, as a work of talent and research, and worthy of a place in every library.

But, desirous as I am to repel the insinuation of personal malice, I am more anxious still to have it understood, that I have not been influenced in my judgment of Dr. Lingard's book by any prejudice against him as a Roman Catholic priest, or by any desire to countenance or strengthen the prepossessions entertained by many against what is called Catholic Emancipation. I might have had reasons for disliking the man; but I could have none, which I should not blush to own, for disliking him on account of his religion.

There is no right I hold more sacred than the right of private judgment in matters of religion; and no public principle to which I am more firmly attached, than to the maintenance of religious freedom. Without the slightest partiality for the peculiar doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, I see no reason why the members of that communion should be deprived of their birthright as Englishmen. Neither justice nor policy warrant, in my opinion, such disfranchisement. I will not deny that the constitution and internal discipline of the Roman Catholic church create a formidable power, which has been used, and may be used again, for mischievous as well as for beneficial purposes. But, the State having placed the Roman Catholic religion under the protection of law, I cannot approve the consistency of fixing a mark of reprobation on those who

believe in its tenets; nor admit the justice of excluding them, on pretence of possible but uncertain dangers, from those civil and political advantages to which their birth, education, and fortune, would otherwise entitle them: and still less can I understand the policy of placing one-third of the inhabitants of a great empire in a situation which must in the end make them indifferent, if not hostile, to its interests.

Thus far I have thought it right to express my opinions on the Catholic question, that no one may suppose I have been swayed in my unfavourable judgment of the Catholic historian by prejudice against the Roman Catholic church, or aversion to Catholic Emancipation.

A desire to serve Dr. Lingard, and to repel what I then thought an injustice done to him, first prompted me to become the reviewer of his works. I had read with pleasure and instruction his Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church,—a book at that time little known beyond the narrow circle of theological controversy: and from the variety of talent and extent of knowledge it displayed, I had formed a high opinion of its author. While full of admiration for the man, I met with a criticism on his book, dictated as it then appeared to me by a spirit of sectarian bigotry, charging him with insidious designs, accusing him of craft and misrepresentation, and insinuating that, though a priest, he was not a Christian. Indignant at these charges, which I thought uncandid and unfair, and desirous of extending

the circulation of his book, by making its merits, and, I may add, its existence, more generally known, I resolved to draw up an account of it for the Edinburgh Review. But, in preparing my article for the press, though strongly prepossessed in favour of Dr. Lingard, I was struck with various instances of what seemed to me disingenuous partiality, in his account of the saints and confessors of his church; and could not disguise from myself, that he had sometimes stooped to artifices beneath a candid historian, to exalt the merits, or throw a veil over the defects, of those holy personages. His vituperative language and petulant remarks on some modern historians, led me to look into the history of St. Dunstan, and more particularly to examine the tragical tale of Edwy and Elgiva. I detected, as it appeared to me, some mistakes or mistatements in Dr. Lingard's account of these transactions, and endeavoured to correct them; but not having thoroughly investigated the story, I left it in a state satisfactory neither to myself nor to my readers. Dr. Lingard replied to some parts of my criticism, in a note annexed to the first volume of his History of England. That reply led me to reconsider the question, and examine with greater minuteness the original authorities. I soon discovered, or at least convinced myself, that we were both in the wrong. The materials I had collected I put together; but as the subject was of little interest, and of still less intrinsic importance, I threw my essay aside, and most probably should never have looked at it again, if I had not been

a second time seduced into a review of one of Dr. Lingard's publications.

It was accident, as you are well aware, that made me the reviewer of Dr. Lingard's History of England. An article on that work had been sent to the Editor of the Edinburgh Review, with permission to make what use of it he pleased. At the suggestion of a common friend, with whom I had some years before discussed the merits and defects of Dr. Lingard's book, the article was transmitted to me. I found it executed with ability; but, though long since cured of my extravagant admiration for Dr. Lingard, I thought it did not render justice to his merits. After some hesitation, I resolved on writing an article myself; and that no wrong might be done to the author of the criticism I had laid aside, I determined to touch on no one topic which had been the subject of his animadversion.

I had ample materials for such a work. I had read with attention, and with a pen in my hand, Dr. Lingard's History of England to the period of the Reformation. Disgusted with the profligate and incredible stories he had retailed against Anne Boleyn and her family, I had there stopped my critical examination of his book, and read the remaining part of it in a more cursory manner. I had long made up my mind on his fidelity as an historian, and my opinion was confirmed by those I considered the most competent judges of the subject. But I was still fascinated with the felicity of his style, pleased with the clear and unem-

barrassed flow of his narrative, and often instructed and directed in my own researches by the acuteness of his critical sagacity. I was determined to do justice to his merits, without concealing his defects. His condition as a Roman Catholic priest in England strengthened every bias I still entertained in his favour. The hard and unprofitable duties of that station must be embittered by recollections on which it is unnecessary to dwell; and when one in so forlorn a state, languishing in obscurity and dependance, where his predecessors flourished in opulence and splendour, has strength of mind to devote his leisure hours to literary pursuits, it is impossible not to admire the force of character that raises him above the frowns of fortune. It was with most indulgent feelings, therefore, that I first opened Dr. Lingard's History of England. Though the illusion was long since dissipated which had led me to regard his labours as one of the most valuable additions made in recent times to our national literature, early impressions had not entirely lost their influence; and on a calm review of what I have written, I must confess they seem to have directed my pen in the general and too flattering picture I have drawn of his work.

With such impressions on my mind, I began my review of Dr. Lingard's History. What was good in his book I was disposed to magnify; what was bad, to extenuate; and it was with the utmost gentleness that I touched on some of its defects. I was content with slightly lamenting the want of dramatic interest in a

history so full of dramatic incident as that of England. It was with regret I hinted that an obtuseness of feeling, whether derived from nature or from his professional habits and education, had made Dr. Lingard indifferent to the fate of those whose story he relates, unless his sympathy was awakened by a community of religious feeling. It did not escape me, though I was averse to enlarge upon it, that inexperience of the world had made him slow to penetrate through the artifices under which interested and ambitious men cover their designs; and where the honour or reputation of his sect or party was concerned, that his prejudices were strong, and his credulity boundless. I found him a diligent collector of what others had thought or written on the progress of our laws and manners, and was willing to overlook the want of an original and powerful mind, and the absence of all profound and philosophical views in his own lucubrations. I gave him due praise for diligence and critical sagacity; and, except by comparison with the first of historians, said nothing to depreciate his pretensions to a higher merit.

But there was one defect in Dr. Lingard's History which I could not soften or overlook, nor even suffer to pass without animadversion. It seemed to me, after a careful examination of his book, that in his desire to give a favourable impression of the clergy in former times, he had been on many occasions betrayed into the error of suppressing or disguising facts, and of adding or altering circumstances, so as to give a fallacious

colouring to transactions where the credit of the church or the honour of churchmen was concerned. To have proclaimed this defect in general terms would have been to set the opinion of a nameless critic in opposition to the authority of a learned and distinguished historian; and, as it deserved, so it would have obtained, no attention from the Public. I selected, therefore, for critical examination, a small portion of his history, and chose it from a period as remote as possible from the time of the Reformation, being unwilling to mingle in the controversies between Protestant and Catholic. I was aware that it was a part of our history not likely to interest many readers; but it was one which Dr. Lingard had studied with care, and examined with the scrutinizing eye of a theological polemic; it was one in which he had indulged in the most acrimonious strictures on modern historians, and where, if seduced into the same error, I should have his example and authority to plead in my excuse.

Never was a work begun and ended in charity more ungraciously received by the person in whose favour it was written. I had praised Dr. Lingard, in my judgment, to the full extent of his merits. I had seasoned highly; but the dish, it seems, was not peppered enough to please his palate. He was indignant, as it appeared, that I had written what he called a laboured eulogium on Hume; and what seemed to have offended him the most, I had ventured to examine into his accuracy and fidelity as an historian. That he should be

alarmed at such an examination, I can easily understand; but on what pretence he should be offended with it, I am at a loss to comprehend. Historians, like others, are liable to error. No one has treated with less ceremony than Dr. Lingard his predecessors in the walk of literature he has chosen. If Hume, Carte, and Henry, are subjected to the ordeal of criticism, why not Dr. Lingard? It may be safer to attack the dead, but I know of no privilege that exempts the living. To be free from error is the attribute of none. The infallibility of the Pope himself, if I am rightly informed, is confined to his decisions *ex cathedrâ;* and excellent Catholic as Dr. Lingard undoubtedly is, I perceive from his Vindication,* that when the Pope is not seated in his pontifical chair, our historian questions the infallibility of his memory, and refuses to believe him till he has consulted his notes.

The only effect that Dr. Lingard's angry and contemptuous expressions produced on his critic, was the conviction that he was in a passion, and that he had not read the article to an end, or had been so blinded with indignation that he did not comprehend what he read.

Some months after the first explosion of Dr. Lingard's wrath, I received at Paris a printed letter, in a newspaper, signed *Investigator,* abusing my unfortunate review in the coarsest terms; pointing me out, almost

* Vindication, p. 59.

by name, as the author of it, and calling on me to have the candour to acknowledge a *supposed* error I had committed. From many circumstances, I had reason to believe that Dr. Lingard was the author of that epistle; and though I could hardly reconcile with this supposition the praise bestowed in it on his own book, or the contempt expressed in it for Anglo Saxon history, the presumptive evidence was so strong that I had little doubt of the fact. Dr. Lingard has since declared,* "that he was not privy either to the writing or to the "publication of that letter." I give entire credit to his assertion. Disowned by Dr. Lingard, the letter is undeserving of reply; but as some of my friends have thought otherwise, I have subjoined a note on the merits of the MS. which Investigator has undertaken to defend.†

Nettled at the manner I had been treated, and recollecting to have heard from one of the first literary characters in England, that Dr. Lingard's account of the St. Bartholomew was partial and prejudiced, I put that part of his book into the hands of a French gentleman distinguished for his intimate and critical acquaintance with the history of his country. On casting his eye over it, he exclaimed at once, that the whole was taken from Caveyrac; and as a proof that the author had borrowed from Caveyrac without even knowing the works to which the Abbé had refer-

* Vindication, p. 8, *note*.

† See Appendix (A).

red his readers, he pointed out to me the ridiculous blunder into which Dr. Lingard had fallen, of classing among Hugonot writers the President de Thou, an archbishop of Paris, and an ex-jesuit, noted in France for the fury and virulence of his orthodoxy. Having nothing better to do at Paris, I resolved to make some inquiry into the history of the St. Bartholomew; and with the advantage which a stranger possesses in that capital, of consulting public libraries with every facility which the most liberal institutions, administered in the kindest and most courteous manner, can afford, I collected a body of materials on that subject, and on some other points of French history, of which my second review of Dr. Lingard's work was the result.

I will not deny that I was led into this train of investigation by the epistle I had received from England; but, having speedily formed my opinion of the sources of Dr. Lingard's information, and of the extent of his researches, I continued my inquiries, to clear up, if possible, a difficult point of history, which no French critic, as far as I could learn, had fully or satisfactorily investigated. I was at one time inclined to acquiesce in the opinion of De Thou; and it was the letter of Cardinal d'Ossat which convinced me that Charles was a party to the plot, though he vacillated, and probably changed his mind more than once before it was ripe for execution. That fact once placed beyond a doubt, many stories told of him, and many sayings attributed to him, which might otherwise have been regarded as

party tales, become credible and consistent with the deceitful conduct he pursued.

Dr. Lingard expresses his surprise that my remarks on his work should be confined to a short note, and to a few other detached points of French history. He forgets that I had already reviewed his book; and that the article of which he complains was written at Paris, where I had no English authors to consult. He forgets, also, that where the credit due to a historical work is the question at issue, the critic must necessarily confine himself to a small portion of the work he undertakes to examine, as the commentary will in general be longer than the text. When a witness is cross-examined in a court of law, it is not required of the lawyer who examines him, that he should ask him questions on every part of his evidence; and, without intending any invidious comparison between a witness suspected of bad faith and an historian suspected of partiality and prejudice, that lead to a similar result, the same rule, I apprehend, must apply to both. The critic, like the lawyer, may select his topics for examination; and if he convicts his author of repeated mistatements and misrepresentations, and if these are all on one side, and all calculated to favour the political or religious opinions of the offender, he has gained his cause. The maxim *ex pede Herculem* will be applied in both cases; and, notwithstanding the murmurs of the delinquents, it will prove as fatal to the credit of the historian as to the credibility of the witness.

But, if the principle on which I proceeded in examining into the accuracy and fidelity of Dr. Lingard as an historian was just, the fitness of applying it to his account of the St. Bartholomew cannot reasonably be contested. The transaction, it is true, was French; but it was one he professed to have studied with care; for, in hazarding an unusual explanation of it, he had assured his readers, that "his opinion was not formed "till after a diligent perusal and comparison of the "most authentic documents on the subject."

Dr. Lingard complains that I have not said a word in his praise. He forgets that I had praised him already as far as my conscience would permit, and that he had received my praise so ungraciously that I had no temptation to repeat it. I had, in truth, exhausted in his commendation every topic that occurred to me; and if I had attempted to soften the edge of his resentment by flattering expressions, I had nothing left for it but to repeat what I had said before.

The questions at issue between Dr. Lingard and his critic may be reduced to the following heads:—

I. Was I justified in saying that Dr. Lingard had taken from Caveyrac the view he has given of the St. Bartholomew?

II. Was I right in my conjecture, that it was only through the medium of Caveyrac he had consulted the original authorities on the massacre?

III. After an examination of different passages of Dr. Lingard's History, was I justified in concluding

that " no fact is to be credited without examination, " no impression to be received without doubt, on the " mere authority of Dr. Lingard's statements?"

IV. Was the massacre of St. Bartholomew the result of accident, or the consequence of a premeditated plot to entrap and destroy the Hugonots?

I. Was I justified in saying that Dr. Lingard had taken from Caveyrac the view he has given of the St. Bartholomew?

On this head I have little to observe. Dr. Lingard, as far as I can discover, has not denied his obligations to Caveyrac; and though he would have acted a more generous part if he had acknowledged them more explicitly in his History, he was certainly entitled to profit by the labours of the Abbé without informing his readers from what source the view he had taken of the subject was derived.

But if Dr. Lingard in his History has neglected to discharge his debt of gratitude to Caveyrac, in his Vindication he has shewn a tender regard to the reputation of that author. In reply to a casual observation in the review, that " the work of Caveyrac had little " success when it first appeared;" he remarks,* " that " the clamour raised against it among the infidel party " in France," and their false representations of its object, " are powerful testimonies in its favour." The

* Vindication, p. 12, *note.*

insinuation is adroit, but the impression it conveys is not just. Infidels are not the only persons who most hold the principles of Caveyrac in detestation. Every friend of religious liberty must be hostile to the doctrines he professes. The specimens I am about to give of his opinions will, I trust, enlist even Dr. Lingard among his opponents.

One of the sections of Caveyrac's book has for its title,* "l'intolérance civile et rigoureuse, est-elle contraire à la raison, à l'humanité, à la politique, et à la religion?" and to this question a decided answer is given in the negative. The author affects to have a horror of persecution; but he justifies the declaration of 1724,† by which the King of France announces to his subjects, "Qu'il ne veut qu'une religion dans "ses états, tout acte contraire à la religion Catholique "est puni de la peine des galères perpetuelles pour les "hommes, et de la prison perpetuelle pour les femmes, "avec la confiscation des biens." An article in the same declaration, which punishes with death Calvinist ministers and preachers detected in France, he pronounces to be bad policy, but strict justice;‡ and the regulation which compels Calvinist parents to send their children for education to Catholic schools, he defends,‖ on the ground, that the king being the father of his people, it is his duty to attend to their happiness in

* Caveyrac, p. 358.
† Ib. p. 449.
‡ Ib. p. 452.
‖ Ib. p. 456.

the world to come, as well as to their temporal welfare: " Cette intolérance," he exclaims, " trouve son prin- " cipe dans la charité, sa justice dans le bon ordre, son " exemple dans la conduite des empereurs Chrétiens."

I am far from imputing any participation in these sentiments to Dr. Lingard. He has entered his solemn protest against them; and though *my* observation in the review was directed against Caveyrac's book in general, it is possible that *his* remark was meant to be exclusively confined to the dissertation on the St. Bartholomew. Yet I cannot help wondering that a Catholic clergyman in England should betray zeal in defence of an author whose work, from beginning to end, is a justification of religious intolerance. There is hardly an objection urged against Catholic Emancipation which is not to be found, *mutatis mutandis*, in Caveyrac; and hardly an argument was used by Protestant zealots in 1780 against the toleration of Roman Catholics, which had not been previously employed by Caveyrac to oppose any religious indulgence to Calvinists in France.

Such being the principles maintained in Caveyrac's work, I am confident that Dr. Lingard will no longer sneer at me for " lending a helping hand to its opponents;" and let me advise him in return, when he next employs a friend to transcribe for him a page from a printed book, to make choice of a more careful copyist than the friend he selected to transcribe a page from La Popelinière. Not trusting to the notes I had taken at Paris, I have collated again the passage in La Popeli-

nière, which I had accused Caveyrac of mutilating by the suppression of two important words, and I find my former statement quite correct. The copy of La Popelinière which I examined is in the British Museum. The words omitted by Caveyrac affect the sense nearly in the same degree as if he had omitted the word *not* in the Ninth Commandment.

II. Was I right in my conjecture that it was only through the medium of Caveyrac that Dr. Lingard had consulted the original authorities on the massacre?

In support of this conjecture, I began by quoting a remarkable passage, where my antagonist has mentioned a number of authors, and without directly referring to them at the bottom of his page, has cited their opinions as one not unacquainted with their writings. From a ridiculous blunder he had committed in describing the whole of these authors as Hugonots, I inferred that it was only through Caveyrac he had examined their works; and if I understand him right, he admits the charge.

The mistake of classing among Hugonot writers an archbishop of Paris, an ex-jesuit, and a president à mortier, Dr. Lingard assures me was an error of the press. Be it so. But I cannot help remarking, that this extraordinary blunder had gone through two, if not three, editions of his book, before any observation was made upon it; and, while it passed unnoticed, that it left an impression on his readers that there was one Hugonot writer at least who had reduced the number

of victims to 10,000. If Dr. Lingard had consulted the reformed martyrologist, as he calls him, he would have seen that the compiler of that work states the number that perished at 30,000, and that it is only by an ingenious operation of the Abbé de Caveyrac that his estimate is reduced to 15,000; and if he had inquired into the character of La Popelinière's book, he would have found, that soon after its publication, it provoked the censure of the Protestant synod of Rochelle, as a work containing many falsehoods and calumnies against their religion.* This is no proof that the censure was merited; but it lessens the authority of La Popelinière *as a Hugonot writer.*

Dr. Lingard complains, that in commenting on a passage of his book I have substituted the word "original" for "authentic;" and when he assured his readers, that his opinion of the St. Bartholomew "was "not formed till after a diligent perusal and comparison "of the most authentic documents on the subject;" he tells us, that, "by the most authentic documents, he "meant documents of sufficient authority to deserve "credit, *as coming from men, who were either the "original devisers, or received their information from "the original devisers of the massacre.*"†

I must own, that I annexed to Dr. Lingard's words a larger and more extensive signification, and understood him to mean, that he had not formed his opinion

* In 1581. Le Long, ii. 257.—Ed. of 1769. † Vindication, 10.

without a careful examination of the evidence on both sides of the question. I had been taught by his preface to believe, that he had imposed on himself "the severe "obligation to take nothing upon trust," to consult the "original documents and more ancient writers," and from these "authentic sources to present his readers "with a full and correct relation of events;" and I was not aware, that in treating of the St. Bartholomew he thought himself justified in departing from these rules. When he assured his readers, that his opinion of that massacre "was not formed till after a diligent "perusal and comparison of the most authentic docu-"ments on the subject," it did not, I must confess, occur to me, that this vaunting declaration was intended to disguise the fact, that he had consulted no authorities on the massacre, except the discourse attributed to Henry III., the Memoirs of Margaret and those of Tavannes, and a passage in Matthieu's History of France at variance with all the preceding part of that historian's narrative. If any one had put the interpretation on Dr. Lingard's words which he has now assigned to them, I should have rejected it with scorn, as implying a proposition too extravagant to be held by any one; that in examining into a charge of conspiracy, no evidence is to be deemed worthy of credit, except the confessions of the conspirators.

"A design," says Dr. Lingard,* "supposed to

* Vindication, p. 22.

" have been formed in privacy and concealment, unless " it be necessarily implied in the result,—can be shewn " only by the confession of the parties, or by the tes- " timony of those who have derived their knowledge " from those parties." If Dr. Lingard's meaning is merely this, that none but the conspirators themselves can give a full and particular history of their plot, explain the secret motives that led to it, and detail all the accidents that accelerated, retarded, or modified the execution of their design, he is in the right. But, if he maintains, as his words seem to imply, that the fact of a conspiracy having existed cannot be proved, except by the admission of the conspirators, or by the utter impossibility of the result having been brought about in any other way, the common sense and daily experience of mankind declare against him. Nothing is more frequent in Courts of Law, than to infer the existence of a conspiracy from circumstances, and from the concurring conduct of the parties, though they protest their innocence, though no accomplice bears testimony to their guilt, and though no single fact proved against them affords complete evidence of their crime. But, if the existence of a conspiracy may be established by circumstantial evidence in a Court of Law, how much more necessary is it that this kind of proof should be received in history, which has not the same advantages for investigating truth, and must therefore be content with inferior evidence. The his-

torian cannot summon witnesses before his tribunal to clear up what is obscure, or to explain what is doubtful in the transactions he relates. The actors have disappeared from the scene before he is called upon to pronounce judgment on their conduct, and no materials remain for his decision but what contemporaries have left behind them. He may sometimes obtain direct evidence of the secret designs of courts and cabinets from the private correspondence of the parties. But, where that evidence fails, he must be guided by probabilities, and exercise his judgment in balancing and comparing contrary statements and opinions. So far from giving implicit confidence to the memoirs, apologies, and vindications of kings and statesmen, he will consider them as documents to be used with caution and received with distrust.

Where the credit of the Church is not concerned, I find Dr. Lingard less difficult about historical evidence. He has no doubt that Arthur of Brittany was murdered by his uncle: though neither John nor the assassins he employed, ever confessed their crime. The young prince was in the custody of his uncle, and suddenly disappeared; John was accused of murdering him, and made no satisfactory defence. "If the manner of "Arthur's death could have borne investigation, John "for his own sake would have made it public. His "silence proves that the young prince was murdered."— "Summoned to prove his innocence in presence of the

" French peers," he " refused;" on which " the Court " pronounced judgment" against him.* Now, let us suppose, that instead of refusing to prove his innocence, John had sent his procurators to the French Court, and had there given a circumstantial account of the death of his nephew, which he afterwards owned to be false, and had then given a second and a third account equally untrue; let me ask, would the decision of the Court or the judgment of the historian have been different? Would they not have answered, that the presumption of his guilt was increased by his prevarications; that, like the elders in Susanna, he was convicted of false witness by his own mouth; and that he who defends himself by allegations which he knows to be untrue, is no longer to be believed on his word? Would any subsequent declaration of John, unsupported by other evidence, have been considered testimony worthy of credit? Would his dying without confessing his guilt have been taken as proof of his innocence? Let us apply these principles to the St. Bartholomew.

Coligny and his friends were invited to Paris on the most solemn assurances of safety, and were received by the king with every manifestation of favour as his faithful and loyal subjects. While there assembled, and under the protection of his guards, they were

* Lingard's History of England, iii. 12, 13.

murdered by his orders. No sooner was this massacre perpetrated, than he and his counsellors were charged with premeditated treachery. They were not summoned to answer the accusation in a court of justice, because there existed no court that had a right to try them. They were cited before the tribunal of public opinion, and this citation was repeated in every language and heard in every Protestant state of Europe. What was their conduct in these circumstances? Did they, like John, remain obdurately silent, and refuse to enter on the vindication of their innocence? No; anticipating the charge against them, on the very night of the execution they issued a declaration, lamenting and attributing to the house of Guise the whole guilt of the massacre, and representing the king and royal family as having been themselves in danger from the swords of the assassins. Next day they retracted this story in part, accused the admiral of a conspiracy, and admitted that it was with the tacit permission of the king that the Guises had murdered him, but still represented the king as having been exposed to danger during the tumult. On the third day came out a fresh declaration, abandoning the former stories as utterly false, and stating that the admiral and his adherents had been put to death by express orders from the king, on account of a treasonable conspiracy they had formed to murder himself, his mother, and other members of his family. After such contradictory statements, are we to be told that the

confessions of these men are the only authentic evidence that can be admitted of their guilt?

Dr. Lingard has ingeniously argued that the falsehood of their first declarations is a proof of the innocence of the parties. But what shall we say to the excuses published weeks and months afterwards, when there had been time for reflection, and when every inducement existed to give a true account of the transaction, if a true account could have been given, that would have saved the honour of Charles and his counsellors?

Pibrac, avocat du Roi before the Parliament of Paris, composed a laboured vindication of his master, which was published by authority about two months after the St. Bartholomew, and extensively distributed through Germany and Poland. Pibrac pretends that orders for the massacre were given, in consequence of information communicated to the king, that the admiral and his accomplices had entered into a conspiracy against the royal family, which was to be executed in the following day; and he asserts, that three separate witnesses, men of rank and character, who were present when the conspiracy was arranged, gave evidence of the fact; and when examined apart, agreed in all the circumstances of the plot. That this story is utterly false, requires no other proof than that these witnesses were not produced before the Parliament of Paris in the trial of Briquemaut and Cavagnes, for this imagi-

nary conspiracy; that they are not mentioned in the sentence against the admiral; that their names are unknown; and having served the purpose for which they had been created, that the three witnesses disappeared and were never more heard of.

Bellievre, who was sent to reconcile the Swiss Cantons to the massacre, does not venture to assert the reality of the plot, but justifies the king on the ground, that the admiral was a dangerous person, from the influence he possessed in his party, and that he had grossly insulted his master at the council-board, by menaces which no sovereign could endure from a subject. Admitting the validity of this excuse, how is it to be reconciled with the story that Charles was to the last enamoured of the admiral, and with difficulty persuaded to his death?

Monluc, whose business in Poland was to obtain the crown of that kingdom for the Duke of Anjou, maintains in his address to the Polish diet that Henry took no part in the massacre. "J'ay pour temoisn le duc "très-illustrissime, qui m'ayant escrit de sa main fort "amplement, tesmoigne que le roy estoit fort eslogné "de la coulpe de ce faict, et afferme constamment que "quant à lui, il n'a jamais esté autheur ni approbateur "de tel conseil." If this letter was not an invention of Monluc, what are we to think of Henry's veracity, who was undoubtedly one of the chief authors and counsellors of the massacre?

The story told by Pibrac was repeated by La Motte Fenelon in England, with this addition, that the king his master was disposed to inquire into the truth of the informations laid before him; and if he found them false, to punish those who had so grossly and wickedly imposed upon him. Deceived by these artful representations, and by the outward shew of grief and shame put on by the ambassador, the English ministry were inclined to believe that Charles was not the author or deviser of the massacre, but had been brought by sudden fear and practice to consent to it. This delusion, however, was of short duration. The first despatch from Walsingham conveyed the opinion of that able and intelligent minister, that from the language and subsequent conduct of the king, he was convinced "the "accident proceeded from himself, though her majesty "had been otherwise informed by the ambassador." This judgment was not pronounced by Walsingham till he had heard both from the queen-mother and her son what they were pleased to urge in justification of their conduct. It is no wonder that he gave no credit to their words, when one of the stories told him by the queen-mother was the extravagant tale, that information had been given to them by "persons attached to "the admiral both by religion and amity, that those of "the religion, had they not been prevented at the time "they were, had seized, within two hours after, one of "the gates of the Louvre," and so made the royal family their prisoners: in corroboration of which, she

related to him circumstances which he knew to be false or misrepresented.*

Burleigh was convinced by the contradictions in the French declarations of the falsity of the statement made by their ambassador. Walsingham never varied in his opinion. In a subsequent despatch he remarks, "they are here so far imbrued in blood, as there is no "end of their cruelty; for no town escapeth where any "of the religion is found, without a general murthering "and sacking of them; and yet they protest all this to "be done against their will, though it be evidently "known that it is done by their commandment." How could Walsingham be deceived by their professions, who was on the spot, and heard them talk jocosely of "a "Bartholomew breakfast and a Florence banquet; so "they term the execution here."—"The king," he remarks in another place, "is grown so bloody-minded, "that they who advised him thereto do repent the "same; and do fear that the old saying will prove "true, malum consilium consultori pessimum."†

Walsingham, it is true, was not one of the devisers of the massacre, nor had his information from those that were; but he was reckoned a sagacious and sharp-sighted observer in his day, and, with due submission to Dr. Lingard, his judgment is worth regarding on transactions that passed under his eyes. Let us see how Dr. Lingard disposes of his evidence.

* Digges, 247, 251, 253, 254, 255. † Ib. 264, 267, 269, 279.

From a despatch of Charles to La Motte Fenelon his ambassador in England, Dr. Lingard has published* a long extract, "to point out to his readers three things "corroborative of his preceding statement; for the truth "of which, Catharine appeals to the personal know-"ledge of Walsingham: that a real inquiry had been "set on foot to discover the origin of the attempt on "the admiral's life, that the subsequent massacre was "provoked by the *intemperate conduct*† of his adherents, "and that the king, as soon as possible, gave orders to "stop the fury of the populace. Walsingham, from "his residence at Paris, and his relations with the chiefs "of the Hugonots, must have known the truth. Can "we then believe that Catherine would have had the "face to appeal to him; or that he, when thus called "upon, would have silently acquiesced, had her state-"ments been untrue?"

In answer to this question, I have to inquire, what reason have we to believe that this despatch gives a fair report of the conversation that passed between Catherine and the English ambassadors? The account must have been drawn up by herself, for even her son

* Vindication, p. 41—43.

† If the reader will take the trouble to look to the extract given by Dr. Lingard, he will find that it was not mere intemperance of conduct the Hugonots were charged with, but with a conspiracy to attempt the lives of the king, his mother and brothers, and to endanger the state. But it was necessary to soften the charge, as the story of the plot is abandoned.

was not present at the audience. Regard to truth formed no part of her character; and vanity might prompt her, in telling her own story, to give herself the appearance of having had an advantage over Walsingham. She knew he did not believe the story she pretends to have repeated to him. There is not an allegation in this pretended dialogue which had not been made to him before, and communicated by him to his court, with a strong opinion of his own that the whole was a tissue of falsehoods. In this conversation, as reported by herself, there is one direct falsehood put into her mouth, and one falsehood conveyed by insinuation. She is made to say to the English ambassadors, that the attempt on the admiral had been made "à notre desceu,"* (without our knowledge,) though she had herself employed the assassin to murder him; and in excuse for having infringed the edict of pacification which had permitted the public exercise of the Protestant religion, she is made to say, that it had

* M. D'Israeli, from whose translation of part of this despatch Dr. Lingard has made his extract, appears to have read "à Notre "Dâme" instead of "à notre desceu;" and Dr. Lingard has copied the mistake, without recollecting that the admiral was not wounded at Notre Dame, or near to it. The original despatch is in the possession of Mr. Murray, bookseller, Albemarle Street; but it had been long ago published in French, in the Brussels edition of the Memoirs of Castelnau, in 1731, folio, iii. 289—293. I have compared the print in Castelnau, which has the words "à notre desceu," with the original in Mr. Murray's possession, which he was so good as to allow me to inspect, and I found it correct.

been done for a good and holy purpose, " à fin de " faire cesser plutost la furie du peuple Catholique;" a reason that could be only of temporary operation, and therefore inconsistent with the declaration she had herself not many months before made to Walsingham, that " her son would have exercise but of one religion " in his realm," as well as with a recent despatch from the king to La Motte Fenelon, notifying to him his royal determination, " de n'admettre dores en avant en " son royaume aucun exercise de la religion que la " sienne."* Such was the regard to consistency and truth of the persons whose declarations Dr. Lingard regards as the only authentic evidence on the St. Bartholomew.

I shall only add, that a despatch from Walsingham, giving an account of this very audience, has been published,† in which there is no mention of the particulars relating to the admiral, to the massacre, or to the violation of the edict of pacification, which occupy so prominent a part in Catherine's account of the conversation.

It is evident by these extracts from Walsingham's correspondence, that in his opinion the massacres of the provinces were produced by orders from Court; and it is equally clear, that according to the information he received at Paris, they were committed in a greater number of places than Lingard and Caveyrac are willing

* Digges, 242. Castelnau, iii. 269. † Digges, 329—331.

to allow. These authors pretend, that the sacking, ransoming, and murdering of the Protestants, were confined to about a dozen places; but I know of no ground for this limitation, except that the Mémoires de l'Etat, in giving an account of the outrages that followed the St. Bartholomew, enter into no details with respect to other parts of the kingdom. The compilers of that work, however, repeatedly declare, that they are able to give only a small specimen of the cruelties that took place; and in several parts of their book they allude to murders and other acts of violence in detached villages and hamlets, which they do not attempt to particularise. The king, in one of his proclamations, admits, that outrages had been committed "tant aux "champs qu'aux villes;" and in another, he states, that they had occurred "dans la plûpart des villes de "ce royaume."* These expressions from Charles himself seem to warrant the assertion of Walsingham, that "no town escapeth where any of the religion is found."

On the question, how far these outrages in the provinces were occasioned by secret orders from Court, at variance with the public proclamations of the Government, I shall not fatigue my readers with repeating the statements and reasons given in the Review. I shall mention only one additional fact, which I have lately met with in the excellent History of Brittany recently published by Count Daru. There is preserved, as we

* Mém. de l'Etat, i. 416, 580.

are informed by that learned and accurate historian, in the archives of Nantes, a letter from the Duke of Bourbon-Montpensier, governor of that city, dated the 26th of August, 1572; in which, that nobleman, who had eminently distinguished himself in the massacre at Paris, directs the seneschal and magistrates of Nantes to follow the example of the capital; "par là, leur dit-"il, l'intention de sa majesté est assez connue pour le "traitement qui se doit faire aux Huguenots des autres "villes."* To the credit of the seneschal and magistrates, it should be added, that they had the courage to disobey this sanguinary order. From this specimen of the private instructions which accompanied the public proclamations of the Government, Walsingham appears to have had reason for his conclusion, that "though "they protest all this to be done against their will, it "is evidently done by their commandment."

To return to the question immediately before us; it follows, from the judgment he has pronounced against John, that if Charles and his counsellors had remained silent amidst the general execrations of Europe, Dr. Lingard must have declared them guilty. Does it add to the probability of their innocence, that they invented false accusations to justify their conduct? Are the inconsistencies in their vindications to be regarded as reasons for believing their testimony? Is no document to be considered worthy of credit but the confessions of persons convicted of falsehood?

* Histoire de Bretagne, par M. Daru, iii. 288.

But, narrow as the limits within which Dr. Lingard has circumscribed his notion of authentic evidence, he has admitted into his circle a work which has no pretension to a place in it, and excluded others, as well entitled to admission as those on which he has conferred that honour.

In mentioning the Memoirs of Tavannes, Dr. Lingard had remarked of the author, that he was in the Louvre at the time, and one of the devisers of the massacre. Knowing that the author of that work was not Marshall Tavannes, to whom Dr. Lingard's description applied, but his youngest son, a lad of seventeen years of age at the time of the St. Bartholomew, I conjectured that Dr. Lingard, instead of having diligently perused the Memoirs of Tavannes, was acquainted with them only through the medium of Caveyrac. In his Vindication he admits, what could not well be denied, that the son, and not the father, was author of the Memoirs; but he "conceives that there is to be found "in them that which may be fairly taken for the testi-"mony of the Marshall himself, transmitted to us "through his son;"* and in support of that opinion he quotes from the son, "J'ai veu, j'ai sceu partie des "faits de M. de Tavanes mon pere;"† but he omits the words immediately following, "*non de tout par-"luy.*" The omission is "ingenious." Tavannes "is "made to say the very reverse of that which he really

* Vindication, p. 23. † Ib. p. 24.

"said." He is made to say, by Dr. Lingard, "there is "one part of the facts which he relates, of which he "was the eye-witness, and of which he derived the "knowledge from his father;"* whereas he really says, "I have seen, I have known, some of the acts of M. "de Tavannes, my father, *but not at all through him.* "To characterise this most singular perversion of testi- "mony, I shall use none of those offensive terms," which Dr. Lingard disdains to borrow, though he condescends to repeat. "I will not call it carelessness or "ignorance, bad faith or misrepresentation, indiffe- "rence to historical accuracy, or an attempt to deceive "the reader. I shall admit that it was perhaps no "more than an oversight, occasioned by precipitancy, "that eagerness for victory which so often blinds and "misleads the judgment."† But I may be permitted to express my surprise, that Dr. Lingard should have made this mistake, as the entire passage he has mutilated was before his eyes in the Review he was employed in answering.

Young Tavannes was in Paris at the time of the massacre. What he relates as an eye-witness I believe. But what he relates in the character of an eye-witness, is of little or no importance, and not half so interesting as the particulars to be found in Sully, De Mergez, and many others. The discourses he has published as his father's, I believe to be genuine. I see no reason to

* Vindication, p. 24. † Ib. p. 50.

doubt their authenticity. But when he enters on the causes of the massacre, and gives an account of the private councils that led to it, I ask, on what authority his information rests? That it is not derived from his father, he has himself informed us. That it is inaccurate in many particulars, I have shewn in my Review;* and it would be easy to multiply examples of carelessness or defective information in the account he has left of the transaction. The stories he relates, and the parts he assigns to the different actors in this scene of perfidy and bloodshed, are inconsistent with the account given by Henry III. in his supposed discourse addressed to Miron. Both cannot be true; and Dr. Lingard must make his choice between them. Tavannes makes De Retz the most bloody-minded of the counsellors, and his father the most merciful. According to Henry, of all the council, De Retz was the only one who opposed the murder of the Admiral. From the complaints of Tavannes the son,† it is clear that Henry IV. gave no credit to the story, that his own life and that of the Prince of Condé were saved by the interposition of Tavannes the father; and both Le Laboureur and Griffet disbelieve the statement of the son upon that point. But whatever may be the value of these Memoirs, they cannot be considered as authentic documents, in the sense of Dr. Lingard. They do not come, nor do they pretend to come, from one who was

* Ed. Rev. No. lxxxvii. p. 148. † Mem. de Tavannes, pp. 388, 418.

an original deviser, or who had his information from an original deviser of the massacre.

But if Dr. Lingard has deviated from his rule by admitting among his authentic documents the Memoirs of Tavannes, he has been guilty of an opposite error, in passing over in silence the evidence furnished by Cardinal d'Ossat and the Chancellor Calignon. I was surprised, I must confess, at these omissions, which could not have happened to one who had really studied the History of the St. Bartholomew; and saw no explanation so creditable to Dr. Lingard, as the supposition that all his knowledge of the massacre was borrowed from Caveyrac, who had taken notice of neither of these authorities in his dissertation.

It is unnecessary to expatiate on the merits of Cardinal d'Ossat, as no one who has the slightest tincture of French literature can be ignorant of his reputation. As a man, he was not less distinguished for his integrity, than as a politician for his prudence and successful management of affairs. By his diligence, probity, and talents, he raised himself from the condition of an indigent orphan, supported and educated by charity, to the rank of cardinal, and to the station of ambassador from France at the court of Rome. His letters, though their style is become somewhat antiquated, are still regarded as one of the best models of diplomatic correspondence. Among other important missions intrusted to his care, he was employed at the papal court to obtain a revocation of the sentence of

excommunication pronounced by Sixtus V. against his master; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish faction, which then predominated in the College of Cardinals, he attained his object. He was afterwards charged with a still more delicate negociation, in which he was equally successful. After a separation of fourteen years from her husband, Margaret of Valois was persuaded to sue for a dissolution of her marriage, on the ground that it had been contracted without a dispensation from the Pope, and that she had been constrained by her mother and brother to consent to it against her will. When the case was laid before the cardinals of the congregation, the Pope himself, Clement VIII. (Aldobrandini), came forward an unexpected and important witness in favour of her suit. He stated to the cardinals, judicially assembled to consider the question, a fact that came within his own knowledge, which confirmed her allegation, by explaining the motives that actuated her mother and brother in putting a force on her inclinations. He reminded them, that, while the marriage of Henry and Margaret was in agitation, Cardinal Alessandrino, nephew to Pope Pius V., had been sent by his uncle to Blois, to negociate, if possible, a marriage between Margaret and Sebastian, king of Portugal; and, at all events, to refuse a dispensation for her marriage with the Prince of Navarre, except on conditions to which his mother, the Queen of Navarre, would not consent. He informed them, that Charles, anxious to obtain a dispensation,

without which Margaret would not submit to the marriage, after attempting in vain to overcome the objections of the Cardinal, took him by the hand, and said, "You are in the right. I acknowledge it, and I "am obliged to you and to the Pope for what you have "said; and if I had any other means of taking vengeance on my enemies, I would never consent to this "marriage; but I can find no other way." Satisfied with this reply, the Cardinal returned to Italy, and when the news of the St. Bartholomew arrived at Rome, he exclaimed in a transport of joy, "Praise be to God, "the King of France has kept his word with me!" This conversation was repeated at the time by Cardinal Alessandrino to Pope Clement, who was then his auditor, and had accompanied him to Blois, and by Clement it was immediately committed to writing.*

To question the truth of this statement would be to impeach the veracity of Pope Clement in a judicial process before his court; and to suppose that the cardinals gave credit to his testimony without due examination, would be to declare them incompetent to the judicial functions they were called upon to exercise. Some time after this communication to the cardinals, the Pope imparted to d'Ossat the particulars above related; and by d'Ossat they were thought of such importance, in corroboration of the plea of constraint advanced for Margaret, that he inserted them, on the

* See Appendix (B).

authority of his holiness, in his written argument addressed to the court. When first informed of them by the Pope, he was not aware that they had been already communicated to the cardinals, and hastening to impart to his friends in the sacred college the valuable disclosure that had been made to him, he was informed by Cardinal Borghese, that the facts had been stated to them by the Pope himself, when he first assembled them to consider of the divorce.

It follows from this conversation with Alessandrino, that Charles either deceived the Cardinal, or meant to entrap the Hugonots by the marriage of his sister, in order to gratify his vengeance at their expense. His real purpose may be reasonably inferred from the event; but in either case, it cannot be denied, that though a youth not two and twenty years of age, he was already a proficient in simulation.

The objections Dr. Lingard has started* to this decisive evidence, utterly subversive of the hypothesis he has adopted, are so frivolous as hardly to deserve a reply. "The anecdote was not new; it had been "often told; it had been published by Capilupi and "Catena, and by the author of the Mémoires de "l'Etat." It was disbelieved by De Thou.

The anecdote was not new. It had been told before, but not with the authority which it derives from Pope Clement VIII.; and though related in historical

* Vindication, 58—60.

works, it had not been stated in a judicial proceeding, as evidence of a fact on which a court of justice was to pronounce sentence.

That it should have been known to Catena is not at all surprising. Catena had been secretary to Cardinal Alessandrino, and had for many years enjoyed the confidence of that prelate, and of his uncle, Pope Pius V. His assertion of the fact is therefore a confirmation of its truth. The judgment of Catena was weak, and his bigotry strong. But the materials for his work were collected from personal observation of the papal court, which he had served for thirty years; from confidential communications with Pope Pius and his nephew; and from the instructions and correspondence of nuncios at foreign courts to which he had access. Before the publication of his book, it was submitted to Sixtus V., approved of by him, and ordered to be printed.

That a conversation of so confidential a nature was known to Capilupi, is a proof that author was well informed on the subject on which he wrote; and ought to teach Dr. Lingard not to reject his evidence on other points.

The author of the Mémoires de l'Etat has manifestly taken his account from Capilupi.

The story was disbelieved by De Thou, because the correspondence of Cardinal d'Ossat had not then been published.

Not satisfied with these feeble and frivolous objections, Dr. Lingard argues that the story is to be re-

ceived with caution, because it was told from memory, after the lapse of seven and twenty years. He forgets that it was committed to writing at the time, and that it was told, not in idle conversation, as an amusing anecdote, but stated deliberately by the Pope to the cardinals assembled for a judicial purpose, as a confirmation of the allegations made to them in a judicial proceeding.

It is amusing to contrast Dr. Lingard's distrust of the papal memory with his unhesitating acquiescence in the reminiscences of Queen Margaret, who did not begin her Memoirs for twenty years after the St. Bartholomew, and had in the interval led a life of profligacy, and passed through a succession of adventures more likely to jumble her recollections, than could have happened to the sovereign pontiff. It is impossible to read her book and have the slightest confidence in her accuracy or veracity. Not content with believing her facts, Dr. Lingard quotes her opinions as authority; and on no better foundation insinuates,* that it was not Charles who dissembled in the St. Bartholomew, but the victims that perished by his assassins.

Let me here take the liberty of asking Dr. Lingard, on what ground he believes the discourse of Henry III. on the St. Bartholomew to be a genuine work? It is not known to whom the discourse was addressed; some say to Miron; others to M. de Souvré. No one.

* Vindication, p. 16, *note*.

has told us where the original MS. exists. I have seen many copies of it in the King of France's library; but none that pretended to have been the original, written at Cracow, or to have been copied from that original. It was unknown to De Thou and other historians for fifty years after the St. Bartholomew. It was first printed at Paris, in 1623, in a supplement to the second edition of the Memoirs of Villeroy; and soon after it appeared, with some variations, in Matthieu's History of France, but without any information of the quarter from which it was obtained, or of the authority on which it may be received as a genuine work. Voltaire alleges that it is any thing but authentic; and Meuselius, who is better authority on a point of this sort than Voltaire, expresses himself doubtfully on the subject.* To me it is a matter of indifference, whether it be a genuine work or a forgery. In my view of the matter, though it may be useful for explaining some difficulties in the history of the St. Bartholomew, it does not affect the main question, whether the massacre was premeditated or accidental. But to Dr. Lingard it is of infinite consequence to trace the discourse to some authentic origin. It is the key-stone of his arch; and if it fails, the whole fabric must tumble to the ground.

The Memoir of Calignon is of less importance than the letter of Cardinal d'Ossat; but it ought not to have escaped the researches of an historian intent on

* Bibliotheca Historica, vii. pars 2da, p. 313, Lipsiæ, 1795.

perusing all the authentic documents that relate to the St. Bartholomew. Calignon, though a Hugonot, was a man of probity, and so highly esteemed by Henry IV., that if he would have become a Catholic, that prince often declared he would have made him Chancellor of France. Calignon relates, from the mouth of Henry himself, the particulars that prince overheard of the private conversations at Bayonne between the Duke of Alva and Catherine of Medicis. The young prince, says Calignon, "ouyt tout ce que fut proposé de part et d'autre "contre ceux de la nouvelle religion, et retint fort bien "ces paroles du duc, qu'une teste de saumon valoit "mieux que celles de cent grenouilles." This conversation he repeated to Calignon; and, young as he was, he appears to have had sagacity enough, notwithstanding Dr. Lingard's sneer,* to distinguish between cooking a dish in the kitchen, and preparing materials for it in the slaughter-house.

When we consider that the interview at Bayonne is the epoch from which all Protestant and many Catholic writers date the first machinations to destroy the chiefs of the Hugonot party, this conversation is of importance, not only because it discloses the subject on which Alva and Catherine held their secret conferences, but because it shews the opinion Henry IV. subsequently entertained of the connexion between the meeting at Bayonne, and the plots afterwards formed to surprise and cut off the

* Vindication, p. 48, *note*.

heads of his party. He was only twelve years of age, it is true, when he overheard the conversation. If he had been older, he would probably not have heard it at all.

The Memoir of Calignon, containing these particulars, was published by Gomberville in his supplement to the Memoirs of Nevers;* but the substance of it had been long before given by Matthieu,† to whom it was communicated by Calignon himself.

Papyr Masson, is an author whose life of Charles IX. it appeared to me, Dr. Lingard ought to have consulted before he wrote on the St. Bartholomew. Though a furious zealot, Papyr Masson was a contemporary, resident in Paris at the time of the massacre, and in a station of life that gave him opportunities of knowing what was passing or was credited among his party. Dr. Lingard had referred to him on the authority of Caveyrac; but it now appears, by his own admission, that he had not read his book, and knew not whether he was Protestant or Catholic. Having since examined the work of Papyr Masson, and finding it adverse to the view he had given of the St. Bartholomew, he starts various objections to it.‡ He says it is very short, which is true; but he should consider, that Cornelius Nepos is reckoned good historical authority, though none of his lives be longer than that of Charles IX. by Papyr Masson. He says the book

* Vol. ii. p. 577, published in 1665. † Histoire de France, i. 283.

‡ Vindication, p. 11, *note*.

abounds in errors; but he has not pointed them out, and therefore it is impossible to judge how far he is right in that assertion. He says, that, though written immediately after the death of Charles, it was thrown aside by the author, who lived five and thirty years afterwards, and yet never thought proper to send it to the press. He is mistaken. It was printed in small 8vo. in 1575, the year after the king's death. It was well known to Brantome, who has extracted from it many of the anecdotes he relates of that prince's life and conversation. De Thou refers to Papyr Masson in his fifty-seventh book, where he treats of the death of Charles; and in his character of that monarch, though he has softened the portrait given by Papyr Masson, and suppressed some of the more odious and disgusting traits which that author had exhibited of his hero, it is evident that he has borrowed freely from his work.

Capilupi's Stratagema is another book, which, in my judgment, it was the duty of Dr. Lingard to have consulted, before he gave his opinion of the St. Bartholomew as the result of deliberate inquiry and reflection. It was a work, indeed, of which no mention was to be found in Caveyrac, and it might therefore escape the notice of one who had studied the subject only through the medium of that author. Introduced to his acquaintance by the Edinburgh Review, Dr. Lingard is facetious at the expense of Capilupi,* and

* Vindication, p. 21, *note.*

borrowing a pun from the Hugonot d'Aubigné, he calls him "the Wolf-catcher." If such be the vocation of Capilupi, no wonder Dr. Lingard should seek to deprive him of his fangs; but he may perchance find it is not so easy as he imagines to withdraw his clothing from the Wolf-catcher's gripe. The stuff he has published as Capilupi's, forms no part of that author's book. It is from another letter, in a different language, which makes no pretension to have been written by Capilupi. Dr. Lingard would have done better to have consulted the Stratagema, than to have taken his impression of it from d'Aubigné.

The earliest edition I have seen of Capilupi's book must have been written before the 18th of September, 1572, within little more than three weeks of the massacre; and a second edition, with some variations and additional particulars, which was reprinted in 1574, with a French translation, appears to have been finished before the 22d of October, in the same year. It was written for the private satisfaction of his brother, and not originally intended for publication.* Having been seen, we are told, in the advertisement to the French edition, and thought good by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was then at Rome, it was begun to be printed, with his approbation; but on further consideration the publication was stopped. The impression,

* So we are assured by Ferrari, printer of the first edition. On what authority Dr. Lingard asserts the contrary, he can best inform us.

however, was finished; for there is a copy still existing of the original edition in the King of France's library. It is in small 4to. and contains twelve folia, besides the title-page and dedication. That it was seen and approved of by the Cardinal of Lorraine, I will not venture to affirm. The story rests on the authority of the Hugonot editor of 1574; but his assertion, as far as I have been able to find, has not been contradicted.

De Thou, unwilling to admit in its full extent the guilt of Charles, which had not then been established by the decisive evidence of Pope Clement, makes some objections to Capilupi's statements, and points out some trifling inaccuracies in his work; but these relate either to mistake about the French peerage, excusable in a foreigner; or to recent events in Flanders, which might easily be misrepresented at a distance. A fact related by Capilupi, which was unknown to De Thou, shews the accuracy of his information on matters not publicly divulged, and confirms the general credit of his work. He tells us, that Charles, despairing of a papal dispensation for the marriage of his sister with the King of Navarre, forged a letter from his ambassador at Rome, stating that the dispensation had been granted, and that it should be expedited to France as soon as the forms of office would permit. And he adds, that the queen mother, pretending to be satisfied with this letter, prevailed on her daughter to submit to the marriage, and persuaded the Cardinal of Bourbon to solemnise the nuptials; for which the Cardinal had

since solicited and obtained forgiveness from the Pope. De Thou sneers at this story,* which he entirely disbelieves, and yet nothing can be more true. A despatch from Charles to M. de Ferrals, his ambassador at Rome, acknowledges that the marriage had not only been celebrated without a papal dispensation, but with a certainty that no dispensation could be obtained, except on terms which the King of Navarre could not grant; and the instructions to M. de Beauville, who was sent to Rome, immediately after the massacre, direct him to state as an excuse for this irregularity, that the delay of the marriage was exciting distrust among the Hugonots, and enjoin him to solicit forgiveness for the Cardinal of Bourbon and other prelates who had assisted at the ceremony.†

It is a further confirmation of Capilupi's book, that he was the first to relate the conversation between Charles and Alessandrino, which was afterwards confirmed by Pope Clement. If the other anecdotes he recounts have not received the same confirmation, let it be recollected, that they were not denied or refuted at the time, and that he appeals for the greater part of them to persons of consequence then alive, or refers to letters of the queen mother, which were still in existence at Rome. The story he relates was unquestionably the belief of the papal court. The extra-

* Thuan, lii. 2—liii, 4.

† MSS. Bibl. du Roi.—Desnemes 267, Reg. 8677

vagant joy expressed at Rome on receiving news of the St. Bartholomew, was not, as Caveyrac pretends, because the King of France had punished his rebellious subjects, " sed ob deletos in Galliâ veritatis et ecclesiæ hosteis." It was for this achievement that a solemn procession was made by the Pope and Cardinals to the church of St. Mark; that a jubilee was proclaimed over the whole Christian world; that fire-works were let off from the castle of St. Angelo, and a general illumination ordered at Rome. It was for this nefarious act, that thanks were addressed to Providence in the church of St. Louis, and that medals were struck and inscriptions affixed on the gates of the church in perpetual commemoration of the deed.

It would be easy to multiply authorities which it was the duty of Dr. Lingard to have consulted before he pronounced a judgment on the St. Bartholomew, different from all preceding historians, with the exception of the Abbé de Caveyrac. When first the massacre was perpetrated, Protestants accused the Court of treachery; and many Catholics, while they admitted, gloried in the charge. It was the policy of the Court of France, for obvious reasons, to deny, and if possible to refute, the accusation. But instead of telling the truth, if the truth could have served their purpose, they invented false charges against the Admiral and his adherents, which no one in the present day will main-

* Thuan, liii. 4.

tain. After the fury of religious bigotry had abated; Catholics, and especially French Catholics, became ashamed of the act, and attempted to palliate its enormity; or, by dividing it among many, to weaken the guilt of the transaction. De Thou, while he expressed his abhorrence of so detestable a crime, is anxious to save the king's honour at the expense of his mother. Matthieu, after acknowledging in the most explicit terms the treacherous designs of Charles and his accomplices, after making a variety of reflections that imply his belief in their guilt, and after stating a multitude of facts irreconcilable, if true, with any opinion of their innocence, adds, that many persons have heard Villeroy declare, "que cette journée ne fut "pas prémeditée, comme on le rapporte;" and then gives an account of the private deliberations that preceded the massacre, from which it would follow, that the conspiracy was confined to the queen mother and to her confidents, and that the consent of the king was extorted from him by working on his fears, and exaggerating the dangers of his situation.* Père Daniel has pursued the same wavering and middle course. He relates facts and makes reflections, which imply his belief of a premeditated plot against the Hugonots, and then adopts the opinion, that the final execution of the massacre was accelerated, if not occasioned, by accident. Caveyrac then appeared, who,

* Matthieu, 1. 331—343.

with greater boldness and more consistency than his predecessors, denied the plot entirely. Dr. Lingard follows in his wake, and has added little or nothing to the force of his arguments, or to the extent of his researches.

III. Was I justified in my conclusion, that no fact is to be credited without examination, no impression to be received without doubt, on the mere authority of Dr. Lingard's statements?

This is a topic on which I enter with reluctance. The opinion I have delivered of Dr. Lingard's book I can neither modify nor retract; but he may accept, or, if he is disposed, triumph in my frank acknowledgment, that I could wish it had been expressed in less harsh and offensive terms. I have no desire to give unnecessary pain, or to wound the feelings of Dr. Lingard. No insult was intended in the sentence that appears to have provoked his indignation: arrogance there could be none, in drawing an inevitable inference from a copious deduction of particular facts. Had I stated my conclusions without any premises, he would have had better reason to complain; but I cannot help suspecting, that in that case I should have offended him less, and have been saved the trouble of this reply. If my conclusions had stood alone, he would have been content with calling them "moonshine." It was my detections, and the impression they produced, that called forth his Vindication. My present business, however, is not to palliate or excuse, but to justify the sentence his reviewer had ventured to pronounce.

No one can have read attentively Dr. Lingard's history without receiving impressions which appeared to him, on reflection, unwarranted by facts, and inconsistent with truth; and yet, on reconsidering Dr. Lingard's words, he must have found that, like the oracles of old, they were so skilfully selected as to convey a double meaning; one likely to strike a careless reader; the other less obvious, which the author was prepared, if necessary, to defend. This mode of insinuating, without being obliged to justify, an unfair impression, if it happened rarely, might be a mere slip of the pen, proceeding from carelessness and haste. But when it occurs frequently, and is always on one side; and more especially when it is effected by relating some facts and disguising or suppressing others, it has the appearance of that species of deception which, for want of a better name, we are accustomed, in English, to call Jesuitical. In reviewing Dr. Lingard's work, I thought it my duty to warn his readers against this practice, and to caution them not to acquiesce in the first impressions they received from his statements, without an examination of his authorities. To illustrate my meaning, and to justify the precautions I had recommended, I shall select a few examples from his book, confining myself strictly to the points of controversy that have been raised between us.

Authentic documents.—When Dr. Lingard assured his readers that he had diligently perused the most authentic documents on the St. Bartholomew, they must

necessarily have understood him to mean, that he had diligently studied the subject. When it was shewn that he had not diligently studied the subject, his reply was ready, that by authentic documents he meant nothing more than the confessions of those who were accused of having devised the massacre.

Contemporary evidence.—When he said that the *hypothesis* of a premeditated plot was unsupported by contemporary evidence, his readers would naturally understand him to mean that the charge of premeditation was not made for some time after the massacre, and not having been made, that it could not be answered. When it was shewn that the charge was coeval with the massacre, he replies,* that none of those who made the accusation were privy to the plot, or pretend to have had their information from persons that were privy to it. He forgets, that the question is not, whether the charge was true, but whether it was made; whether the *hypothesis* of a preconcerted plot was proposed at the time, on such plausible grounds, and maintained by such respectable authorities, as to put the accused on their defence. That it was advanced on such authority, and that the accused attempted to vindicate themselves, there is not a doubt. That they failed in this attempt, and that their vindications are replete with inconsistencies and falsehoods, Dr. Lingard is himself compelled to admit.

* Vindication, 20—22.

Preparations for, and execution of, the massacre.—

"Four hours," says Dr. Lingard,* "had elapsed" (after the resolution to perpetrate the massacre) "before the "plan was arranged, and the necessary orders had "been given: it wanted two more of the appointed "time. To sleep in such circumstances was impos-"sible; and the king, his mother, and brothers, repaired "to an open balcony, where they stood gazing at the "stars, and waiting the result." To shew the fallacies in this picturesque description, I pointed out to him, from his favourite authority, the discourse of Henry Third, that the determination to execute the massacre was adopted after the king's dinner, which was an hour before noon; and that the time employed in making preparations for it, was "le reste du jour, le soir, et "une bonne partie de la nuit;" and that instead of finding it impossible to sleep, it was "après avoir reposé "deux heures la nuit," that the royal party repaired to the balcony, at break of day, to witness the commencement of the slaughter. I might have added, that Charles had, in the interval, amused himself at his forge, and employed as his assistants some of the persons whom he had doomed next morning to be his victims.†

"The massacre," according to Dr. Lingard,‡ "had "been infinitely more extensive than had been foreseen:

* History, viii. 518. † Review, 101, 102, 138.

‡ History, viii. 519.

"even its original projectors stood aghast at the mul-
"titude of the slain:" on which I could not forbear to
remind him, on the same authority, that when Charles
consented to the murder of the Admiral, he had ex-
claimed, "puisque nous trouvions bon qu'on tuât l'Ad-
" miral, qu'il le vouloit—mais aussi tous les Hugue-
"nots de France*—et que nous y donassions ordre
"promptement;" and that, in obedience to this san-
guinary order, his counsellors had secured the coopera-
tion of the "prevôt des marchands, des capitaines des
"quartiers, et autres personnes que nous pensions les
" plus factieux, faisant un départment des quartiers de
" la ville, desseignans les uns pour exécuter particulière-
"ment sur les autres."

As a proof that Charles was most intent on putting a stop to the massacre, Dr. Lingard inserted† the following sentence, as a passage from La Popelinière,—"à diverses fois le roy itera vers le soir les premières "defences à tout homme sous peine de vie, &c.;" on which I remarked, that no such passage existed in La Popelinière; that the words, indeed, were to be found in that author, (and so far Dr. Lingard has the advantage of brother Peter in his search for shoulder-knots), but that they were picked out from different sentences;

* Meuselius concludes from this passage, that *if* the discourse attributed to Henry Third be genuine, "ipse cum matre reginâ minimè cædis "detestandæ particeps habendus esset, sed solus rex Carolus IX. eandem animo concepisset."

† History, viii. 319, *note*.

and put together so as to convey a meaning not intended by that author. Dr. Lingard is very angry at the observation I had made on his &c., but he takes no notice of the more serious charge of fabricating a quotation, which has no existence, as it is cited, in the original.

Taken singly, these deviations from the authorities he used in composing his narrative, are of no great importance; but the tendency of the whole is to give a false colouring to the transactions he relates; to shorten the time for deliberation after the massacre was resolved upon; to heighten the agitation of the parties while their bloody purpose was in preparation; to represent Charles as shocked with the number of victims, when he had expressly ordered that no Hugonot in France should be spared; and to exhibit him as so much in earnest to put a stop to the massacre, as to issue repeated proclamations to that effect on the very day it commenced, while, in truth, they were issued without effect, day after day, while it was going on, and were uniformly qualified with an exception in favour of those who had permission to kill, pillage, and torment.

Assassination of Ligneroles.—"The leaders of the "French Protestants," says Dr. Lingard*, "forwarded "the project with all their influence. Ligneroles, the "duke's favourite, and the supposed enemy of the "match, was assassinated; and a confident hope was

* History, viii. 93.

"entertained that the prince, no longer under his influ-
"ence, would accede to the proposed terms." Doubtful of the impression which this passage had made on myself, I shewed it to one not unversed in literary composition, and asked him, who were the persons he should conceive, from Dr. Lingard's words, to have been concerned in the assassination of Ligneroles. Without hesitation, he answered, the French Protestants; and yet nothing can be more certain than that the assassins of Ligneroles were Catholics, and that the murder was perpetrated, not by the friends of the match, but by courtiers acting under orders from the king. Dr. Lingard assures us he had no intention to insinuate that the murder of Ligneroles was the work of the French Protestants; and though his words are calculated to make that impression, I must admit that they do not affirm the fact.

Massacre of Vassi. — Catholic, as well as Protestant, writers have agreed that the massacre of Vassi was the cause or signal of the religious wars that ensued in France; on which Dr. Lingard remarks, that this "affray" (as he twice calls it, and not once a massacre, as asserted in his Vindication,*) "happened on March 1; "yet the Calvinists began to arm on the 19th Feb. at "the sound of the drum. They were in the field, and "defeated de Flassans on March 6.—See Ménard, "Histoire de Nismes, iv. preuves 6."

* History, vii. 417—Vindication, 51.

The obvious purport of this remark, without which it has no relation whatever to the matter in hand, is to convey to his readers the impression, that before the massacre or affray of Vassi, the Calvinists of Languedoc were in arms, and that they had fought with, and defeated, the Catholics, before any account of the affair at Vassi could have reached Provence; the conclusion from which would be, that in the religious war that followed, the Protestants, and not the Catholics, were the aggressors.

If such was the impression intended by Dr. Lingard, nothing can be more remote from truth; and the only excuse I can offer for his error is, that he has been deceived, as usual, by trusting to Caveyrac.* No events can be more unlike than the massacre of Vassi and the affair at Barjols, in which the Flassanists were defeated. At Vassi, a congregation of unarmed Hugonots, assembled to celebrate divine service, under the protection of the edict of toleration, were assaulted by armed men, acting without legal authority, sixty of them murdered, and two hundred in all killed or wounded. At Barjols, a body of armed men, in open rebellion against the royal authority, were attacked by the king's lieutenant and his governor of Provence, the town in which they had fortified themselves taken by assault, and themselves dispersed or cut to pieces. The one affair was a battle, the other a massacre. The battle was fought in maintenance of a royal edict,

* Caveyrac, Apologie, p. 29. Dissertation, p. lv.

against persons who resisted the royal authority, and who had defeated a detachment of the king's troops. The massacre was perpetrated in violation of a royal edict, against persons peaceably assembled in a place of worship authorised by law. There is the same difference between the two cases as between the conduct of Lord George Gordon's mob, which pillaged and burned the Roman Catholic chapels,—and that of the guards, who marched into the city to suppress those illegal and disgraceful proceedings.

Meeting at Bayonne.—Before I enter on this subject, I must frankly confess, that in his correction of one passage of my Review, Dr. Lingard is in the right. I shall not attempt to justify my exposition of a sentence in Strada, which I had misunderstood, but simply explain how the mistake arose; and to make my explanation intelligible, I have subjoined at the bottom of the page* the passage I had misinterpreted, carefully collated with a copy of Strada in the British Museum, printed at Rome in 1640.* While preparing my Review, I had no opportunity of consulting that

* "Et verò ingentem illam Hugonotorum cædem, septennio post actam Parisiis, in hoc decretam esse conventu, multi sentiunt. id quod mihi neque abnuere neque affirmare promptum fuerit. potiùs inclinat animus ut credam, et mutua Gallorum in Belgium, atque hinc in Galliam adversùm religionis Principumque rebelles auxilia, quæ sæpiùs submissa dein vidimus: et Caroli regis cùm Elisabethâ Maximiliani Imp. filiâ matrimonium, quinto post annum celebrato, ab eo colloquio provenisse."—*Strada de Bell. Belg.* p. 109.

work, excepting in the king's library at Paris. When I came to the passage in question, I translated it thus:—'Many, indeed, are of opinion, that the great slaughter of the Hugonots, perpetrated seven years afterwards at Paris, was settled at this meeting: an opinion which I am not prepared either to affirm or to deny: I am rather inclined to believe *it*, and that the mutual aid which since that time we have seen repeatedly furnished from France to the Netherlands, and from the Netherlands to France, against the rebels to religion and government: and that the marriage of King Charles with Elizabeth, daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, solemnised five years afterwards, originated from that conference.' My mistake arose from having overlooked the effect of the double "et" in the last member of the sentence, which limits the words "potiùs inclinat animus ut credam," to what follows, and disconnects it with what went before. Having fallen into this error in the construction of the passage, I extracted that part of the sentence only which related to the point I was considering, omitting the rest as immaterial to my object; and printing afterwards from the notes I had made, without again consulting the original, I had no opportunity of discovering and correcting my error. Dr. Lingard is pleased to consider this mistake as a fraud.* It is singular enough, that in exposing that fraud, he has been so careless in reprinting the passage, as to commit what has something of a

* Vindication, p. 49.

similar appearance. He has prefixed a capital P to "potiùs," and thereby converted the preceding colon into a full stop. This slight, and, as his printer might hope, imperceptible change, does not affect the construction of the sentence; but it makes my error appear more extraordinary to his readers, and more difficult to explain on any other principle than that of a fraudulent intention to deceive. That I had no such intention, I trust it is unnecessary for me to assert. After so many detections of Dr. Lingard's errors, can it be supposed, that to add one to the number I should have risked a false quotation, which was sure to be discovered and exposed? But, in whatever manner my mistake originated, I should be a churl to grudge Dr. Lingard his triumph at this advantage, the only one he has obtained in the whole course of his Vindication. Yet there is one reflection I might suggest to him in abatement of his joy. A merchant may be forgiven a single error in his accounts; but if he commits an error in every page, and every error tells to his own advantage, he must expect to lose his character and credit.

Admitting, then, that Strada was rather disinclined to the opinion that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was projected at Bayonne, I have still to complain of Dr. Lingard, that, professing to give Strada's account of what passed at that interview, he has omitted several important particulars, unfavourable to his own view of the question, which Strada has thought worthy of insertion in his History. I shall not repeat what I have stated at length in my Review on the conference at

Bayonne, I am ready to allow, that we have no evidence of a formal treaty having been concluded on that occasion between the two crowns. But the subjects of deliberation indicated by Strada, and the consequences that followed — the conversations overheard by the Prince of Navarre — the admissions of Tavannes the son — the private information given to the Protestants by their friends at Court before the enterprise at Meaux — and the subsequent attempt to surprise the Admiral and the Prince of Condé at Noyers, which was defeated by the cunning and caution of Tavannes the father — conjoined with the opinions of the best informed writers of the age, and with the characters of Catherine and Philip, leave no doubt on the mind, that plans were there discussed, and mutual promises of assistance given, for the destruction of heretics, and extirpation of heresy. To pronounce the suspicions of the Protestants to have been chimerical, and their fears pretended, because no formal treaty was signed and sealed, would be as preposterous as to maintain, that no deliberations to check the progress of the French Revolution were held at Pilnitz, because no treaty of confederation against France was actually concluded.

Misquotation from the Edinburgh Review. — In page 155 of the Review the following passage occurs: — "On the day before the massacre, he (Charles) "appointed a detachment of his guards for the protec- "tion of Coligny, stationed them around his lodgings, "and ordered them to permit no Catholic to approach

" the house; and on pretence of affording further " security to the Admiral, he directed that all the " houses in the neighbourhood should be abandoned " by their Catholic tenants, and occupied by Hugonots, " who were ordered, by public authority, to repair to " that quarter from the different parts of the town " where they resided. The guards thus stationed for " the protection of Coligny, were employed next morn- " ing to murder him; and his friends, collected within " a small space, were slaughtered, without the possi- " bility of concealment or escape. *But it is doubtful,* " *or at least we have been unable to satisfy ourselves* " *from the recital of historians, whether these orders were* " *given before or after the final resolution to perpetrate* " *the massacre next morning. It is a suspicious circum-* " *stance, however, that the command of the guard was* " *confided to Cosseins, a known and determined enemy of* " *Coligny.*"

This passage Dr. Lingard has inserted in his Vindication,* *omitting the words printed in Italics;* after which he gravely remarks, as if the observation had escaped the reviewer, that " it is of importance to deter- " mine at what time of the day the request" (for a guard to Coligny) " was made by Cornaton, and granted " by the king. For, if this took place before the design " of the massacre was communicated to the latter, there " can be no pretext for charging him with dissimu-

* Vindication, p. 67.

"lation." Having decided to his own satisfaction that the orders were given before the massacre was resolved upon, he asks, "What could induce the reviewer to "bring this charge against the king; to accuse him of "issuing orders for the purpose of facilitating the massacre, though they were issued at a time when "Charles could have no knowledge of any such "design?"

That the reviewer was doubtful at what hour of the day the order was given, is apparent from the words Dr. Lingard has suppressed in his extract of the passage; and after reconsidering the subject, he is still in doubt. The recital of De Thou is in favour of Dr. Lingard's opinion; that of the Mémoires de l'Estat directly the reverse. But what contributed chiefly to make the reviewer hesitate, was the following passage in the Memoirs of Tavannes:*—"La resolution prise" (to commit the massacre next morning), "les Hugue-"nots semblent ayder à leur ruine, aveuglez deman-"dent les gardes du Roy, qui leur furent accordées "pour garder l'admiral, autour duquel les principaux "se logent, autres avec le Roy de Navarre dans le "Louvre, pour le conserver (disoient ils) de ceux de "Guise. Ils facilitent leur massacre."

That the detachment of guards was assigned to Coligny at his own request, was not unknown to me; but the fact, so far from affording an excuse to Charles,

* Tavannes, p. 418.

is an aggravation of his guilt. It shews the confidence of the admiral in the justice and protection of his sovereign. The employment of these troops to murder him, is one of the blackest instances of treachery on record; and that they were originally intended for that purpose, many circumstances prove. What Cornaton asked, were six archers of the guard, to keep the populace in awe. At the suggestion of the Duke of Anjou fifty harquebuziers were appointed, and the command of them given to Cosseins, a partisan of the house of Guise, and declared enemy of the admiral. Cornaton remonstrated, but he was silenced by a positive order of the king. As he retired, Thoré, brother of Marshal Montmorenci, whispered in his ear, "On ne vous pouvoit baillir à "garder à un plus grand ennemy qu'à cesluy là:" to which Cornaton replied, "Avez-vous consideré avec "quelle authorité le roy a commandé cela? Nous nous "sommes appuyez sur sa bien vueillance."*

Unfounded assertion with respect to the reformed martyrologist.—This is the last instance I shall give in justification of my general assertion, that no fact is to be credited without examination, on the mere authority of Dr. Lingard's statements.

In estimating the number of persons slain throughout France during the massacre, Dr. Lingard has the following passage:†—"But the martyrologist adopted "a measure which may enable us to form a probable

* Mem. de l'Estat, I. 204. † History, viii. 520.

"conjecture. He procured from the ministers in the "different towns where massacres had taken place, "lists of the names of the persons who had suffered, or "were supposed to have suffered. He published the "result in 1582."

Now, I wish to know from Dr. Lingard on what authority this circumstantial story is related? I have already asked the question, and have received no answer whatever. I believe the tale to be entirely destitute of truth. If Dr. Lingard can either prove the fact, or produce the authority that misled him, he is acquitted. If he can do neither, the story must be considered as his own invention; and the reader, who afterwards gives credit to his statements without examination, must have some other principle than reason to govern his belief.

IV. Was the massacre of St. Bartholomew the result of accident, or the consequence of a premeditated plot to entrap and destroy the Hugonots?

Instead of recapitulating facts already stated, or attempting a minute history and explanation of all that passed between the peace of 1570 and the completion of the tragedy that followed, I shall content myself with some general observations, which will convince, I trust, every unprejudiced reader, that the King of France meditated the destruction of the Hugonots, when he loaded them with favours and marks of confidence, and that the massacre perpetrated by his order was not

a sudden thought, but the result of premeditated treachery.

To prove the existence of a preconcerted plot, it is not necessary to shew at what time it was formed—how many persons were privy to it—what variations the original design underwent—what contrarieties it experienced—what prevented the execution of it at an earlier period—what determined the court to carry it into effect at the time it happened—from what causes the life of the admiral was first attacked—and that attempt failing, why the whole of his adherents at Paris, and many thousand Hugonots throughout France, were included in the massacre. Plausible answers may be given to many of these questions; but as they must be founded on probabilities, they are liable to error, and exposed to contradiction. The contrivers of the plot were the only persons who could have given such a history of its progress as would have removed every objection, and solved every difficulty. For my purpose, it is sufficient to shew—

1. That, while the King of France was flattering the admiral with apparent marks of confidence, and showering favours on his followers, he was secretly meditating their destruction: and,

2. That the language and conduct of Charles and his counsellors, after the massacre, contrasted with their previous professions and declarations, were such as to convince their contemporaries that the design of

the massacre had been entertained before it was carried into execution; and that the Hugonots had been enticed to Paris, with a premeditated intention to cut off their leaders, suppress their religion, and disable them from opposing any resistance in future to the exercise of the royal authority in France.

The declaration of Charles to Alessandrino, in February 1572, establishes the fact, that six months before the massacre, it was the intention of the king, on pretence of marrying his sister to the Prince of Navarre, to insnare the Hugonots, and avenge himself for the injuries he had suffered at their hands. It appears, also, from this declaration, that he was so intent on taking vengeance on his enemies, that he was willing to sacrifice his sister to gratify that passion. Nothing, he owned, would have made him consent to the marriage, but the impossibility of satisfying his revenge in any other way.

This declaration is one of those leading facts in a historical investigation, which, like an *experimentum crucis* in physics, settles many a doubtful point. It gives credibility to stories, which, though not improbable in themselves, rest on less certain evidence. When we are assured on such undoubted authority, that Charles was actuated by these deep-rooted sentiments of revenge, we can believe the vindictive character attributed to him by his contemporay biographers; and credit the declarations ascribed to him, that he would never forgive the enterprise at Meaux.

When we find him harbouring projects of vengeance against the admiral, after the caresses and favours he had bestowed on that nobleman, we have no difficulty in believing the speech he is said to have addressed to his mother, after the affectionate reception he had given to his aunt, the Queen of Navarre, at Blois; and may trust to the anecdote related of him, that after the massacre was perpetrated, he complained of nothing so much as that he had been compelled to dissemble so long.

The sudden burst of fury to which he gave way, when, according to the discourse attributed to the Duke of Anjou, he consented to the murder of the admiral, exclaiming, that all the Hugonots in France must perish with him, could hardly have originated with one who, for the first time, contemplated so bloody an execution; and the ready acquiescence of his counsellors, shews that the project was already familiar to their minds. Is it credible, that so horrid and extensive a massacre should have suddenly occurred to any one, through whose mind it had not previously passed; or, that grave and experienced counsellors, who had been urging the death of the admiral as the only means of preventing greater calamities, would have obeyed, without remonstrance, this frantic and sanguinary order, if the measure had not been already in agitation?

The stories told of the ferocious and cruel disposition of Charles, and of his morbid thirst for blood,

are related by persons who were not his enemies, and who lived at his court in familiar intercourse with his most intimate associates. They are confirmed by his parade through the streets of Paris on the evening after the massacre—by his visit to Montfaucon, to contemplate the mangled and disfigured remains of the admiral, and by his savage curiosity to witness, with his own eyes, the execution of Briquemaut and Cavagnes. No fact in history is better attested than the last and worst of these anecdotes.*

The consummate treachery and profound dissimulation of Charles, at so early an age, have been urged as objections to a premeditated plot, to which he was a party. Maturity in fraud at the age of Charles is indeed uncommon, though not unexampled. If we are to believe the unanimous voice of his contemporaries, he had been educated in dissimulation and perfidy from his childhood, and was an adept in those arts. They who represent him as a frank open character, incapable from temper of concealing the emotions that passed

* The authorities which relate this fact are numerous. I shall content myself with Walsingham's letter to Sir Thomas Smith, which begins thus:—"Sir, it may please you to advertise her majesty, that the young "queen was brought to bed of a daughter on the 22d October, whose "nativity was consecrated with the blood of Briquemaut and Cavannes, "who the same day, between the hours of five and six in the evening, "were hanged by torch-light, the king, queen-mother, and the King of "Navarre, with the king's brethren and the Prince of Conde, being "lookers on."—*Digges*, p. 278.

through his soul, I seem to have forgot, that while preparations were making for the massacre, he redoubled his caresses to the King of Navarre, repeated to the admiral his assurances of safety and protection, and had such command of himself on that trying occasion, as to resume in the evening his ordinary amusements, and employ, as his assistants, the persons he was to waken next morning by tolling the fatal knell of their friends.

Had the massacre arisen from accidental circumstances, Charles and his counsellors, pressed as they were on all sides to justify their conduct, could not have failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the unforeseen and fortuitous causes that led to so deplorable a catastrophe. But the excuses they made, the pretexts they alleged, were false, inconsistent, and contradictory, and were not even credited by those, who thought it their duty to circulate them over Europe. "Sanè de-"plorandum fuit," says De Thou,* "viros dignitate, "pietate, integritate, ac doctrinâ præstantes, et ab omni "fuco et vanitate alienos, Morvillerium, Thuanum, "Monlucium, Pibracium, et Bellevreum, ut regni bono "inservirent, eo non metu aut spe, sed præsenti rerum "statu adductos, *ut rem, quam intrà se detestabantur,* "*aut simulate laudarent, aut officiosâ excusatione obscu-*"*rarent.*" Let it be remembered, that these men were

* Thuanus, liii. 8.

the father and intimate friends of De Thou, whose private opinions he has here expressed in opposition to their public declarations and apologies.*

Dr. Lingard, at the distance of two hundred and fifty years, calls for evidence of the plot. The evidence is the charge brought against the criminals at the time, which they endeavoured, but unsuccessfully, to repel. Their contemporaries had no doubt of their guilt. Protestants accused them of the crime; and, while many Catholics deplored the act, the greater number gloried in the treachery, and exulted in its success. What has happened to alter this judgment of contemporaries? A discourse, ascribed to Henry III., has been published, which attributes the first attempt on the admiral's life to the joint contrivance of himself and his mother, and

* Indeed, the speech of De Thou the father, when the king went in state to the Parliament and avowed the massacre, implies his belief, that Charles had dissembled with his enemies in order to get them into his power. What other sense can be affixed to the ambiguous compliment he made to his sovereign, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*. That he held the massacre in abhorrence, and wished to obliterate every memorial of so detestable a crime, we are informed by his son, who tells us that, in speaking of the St. Bartholomew, his father used to apply to it the following lines—

Excidat illa dies ævo, ne postera credant
Sæcula; nos certè taceamus, et obruta multa
Nocte tegi propriæ patiamur crimina gentis.

represents the king as at that time unwilling to give up the admiral, but, when induced to consent, as directing that every Hugonot in France should be included in the massacre. But this discourse, admitting it to be genuine, gives no account of the previous deliberations of the queen-mother and her confidents, nor of the dispositions and secret designs of Charles when he invited the Hugonots to Paris. The Memoirs of Queen Margaret may be believed on one point, that her brother Charles told her he had been with difficulty persuaded to the murder of the admiral, but on no other material fact are they worthy of credit. She was, by her own account, ignorant of what was going on, and her story is, in many particulars, at variance with that of her brother. What, indeed, was to be expected from a woman of gallantry, writing, amidst a seraglio of lovers, the history and apology of her scandalous adventures? The correction of Matthieu relates only to the final catastrophe, which, he says, many persons had heard from Villeroy, was brought about differently from the story usually told. The Memoirs of Tavannes are a controversial work, written many years after the events they relate, full of blunders, and with no better pretence to authority than twenty other works of the same period.

Brantome and others have represented Tavannes the father as one of the devisers of the massacre. In a memorial addressed by that crafty and unprincipled politician to the king, soon after the peace of 1570, I

discovered what seemed to me a confirmation of the charge. Dr. Lingard* disputes the inference I have drawn from this paper. I am not satisfied with his reasons, and am still of opinion that the words, "il n'y "a moyen que de prendre les chefs tout à la fois pour "y mettre un fin," apply to the Hugonot chiefs as well as to the royal family. But the point is not of sufficient importance to argue it at length.

Dr. Lingard† quotes with complacency a passage from the Mélanges Littéraires of the Viscount de Chateaubriand, where that author asserts he had examined the secret papers of the Vatican, while they were at Paris, and the result of his examination was a positive conviction in his mind, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was not a premeditated design, but a resolution suddenly adopted in consequence of the wound of the admiral. The Viscount de Chateaubriand is a man of eloquence and imagination; but how far he is qualified for historical investigation we have yet to learn. It would have been more satisfactory if he had published the documents which convinced him that the massacre was the result of the unsuccessful attempt on the admiral's life. That he found no papers which proved it to have been a preconcerted plot I can readily believe. I have it in my power to communicate a still more extraordinary fact to Dr. Lingard. There is not a trace of the St. Bartholomew to be found on

* Vindication, p. 53. † Ibid, p. 69.

the archives of the parliament of Paris, though we know from De Thou, that, besides other documents on the subject, the king's declaration of the 26th of August was inserted in the records of that assembly. Not a scrap, however, remains; every vestige of so abominable a transaction has long since disappeared; and probably for the same reason many papers relating to that event have been withdrawn from the records of the Vatican. When the rancorous bigotry of the sixteenth century had subsided, which priests of different sects are striving now a-days to rekindle, Catholics became ashamed of the execrable act, which their ancestors had extolled as meritorious, and, under the influence of better feelings, they destroyed every document that could throw light upon it. As an historical question, it was supposed to have been settled, and the subject had been long suffered to rest in oblivion. That it should have been revived at the present moment I most deeply lament; but, if Catholics unjustly suffer from the recollections it excites, they have to blame the indiscreet and officious zeal of their historian.

I am aware, that to dwell on the crimes which a bigotted zeal for the Roman Catholic religion occasioned in times comparatively remote, may appear unseasonable to some, at a period when English Roman Catholics are petitioning for the restoration of their rights. The just indignation which such discussions inspire or recall to the mind, must have a tendency to confirm prejudices, and give a colour to alarms which every

good citizen would seek to banish or allay. But I know that indignation and disgust at the cruelty and perfidy that led to the St. Bartholomew, are consistent with a sincere and earnest desire to see the last vestige of the penal code against Roman Catholics erased from our statute-book; and I believe and trust that they are equally compatible with a conscientious adherence to the doctrines, and a practical submission to the discipline of the Church of Rome. Certain I am, that with the Protestant part of the community Roman Catholics will better promote their cause, by expressing their abhorrence of religious persecution, from whatever sect or party it proceeds, than by impotent, unnecessary, and ill-judged attempts to disguise or palliate the crimes and bigotry of their ancestors. That Dr. Lingard should have taken the latter course, ought to be matter of regret with those of his communion, who sincerely desire to conciliate the affections, and quiet the fears of their Protestant fellow-subjects. That he should be answered, and his errors exposed by Protestants, was to be expected; and none are so imperatively called upon to the performance of that duty, as those who have unsuccessfully, but strenuously, exerted themselves to remove the odious and cruel exclusions under which Roman Catholics in England unjustly and unnecessarily suffer.

In taking leave of Dr. Lingard, I repeat my assurances, that in what I have said of his book, I have been actuated by no private pique or personal ill-will

against him. I could willingly have been dispensed from the task which I have now finished; but having brought it to a close, I cannot refuse my thanks to Dr. Lingard for having compelled me to reconsider the subject. It has enabled me to place in a stronger and clearer light the decisive evidence furnished by Cardinal d'Ossat, which, in the multiplicity of matter I was forced to crowd into the narrow compass of a review, I had stated more slightly in my former essay than its importance deserved.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A, (SEE PAGE 11.)

In the Review, I had said that a MS. in the Royal Library at Paris, marked $6\frac{4}{2}6$, "Ambassades, which Dr. Lingard had attributed to a person in the suite of Richard the Second, made no pretension to that character; and as an historical document I had rated it very low —considering it a collection of tales and hearsays, unworthy of credit. *Investigator* (to borrow a phrase from Dr. Lingard) "pounces" on this passage, accuses me of having "paraded a knowledge of what I had "never seen," appeals from the unfavourable opinion I had expressed of the MS. to the authority of M. Buchon, and exhorts me to "make a candid and manly retrac- "tion of my error."

It so happened, that many years ago I had examined with care the MS. in question, and had compared it with several other MSS. in the same library, which profess to tell the same story, and which, indeed, generally relate it in nearly the same words. These collations I had communicated to Mr. Webb, when that gentleman was preparing for the press his translation of Creton's Metrical History of the Imprisonment of Richard the Second; and the copious extracts from my notes,

which he has published in the twentieth volume of the Archæologia, prove, at least, that I was not totally unacquainted with the MS. I had ventured to criticise.

I had not, therefore, "paraded a knowledge of what "I had never seen:" nor was I mistaken in my assertion, that the MS. contains no pretensions of having been written by a person in the suite of King Richard. M. Buchon has lately printed one of the MSS. on the fall and deposal of Richard, which I had consulted in the King of France's library. He has selected, for publication, not the MS. Ambassades, but a MS. marked $9\frac{7}{2}45$, "dont le style porte plutôt l'empreinte "des temps, et où quelques évènemens sont racontés "d'une manière plus circonstanciée;" but, that nothing might be wanting to his edition, he has subjoined, from the MS. Ambassades, the passages suppressed or abridged in the other.* Any one who will take the trouble to peruse the publication of M. Buchon, will find that I was in the right in asserting, that the MS. Ambassades makes no pretension to have been written by a person in the suite of Richard; and if *Investigator* will examine the other MSS. referred to by Mr. Webb, I am mistaken if he will discover in any one of them such a pretension, or find in any one of them, with the exception of the MS. published by M. Buchon, any hint or information concerning the persons by whom they were written, or the authority from which they were derived.

* Collection des Chroniques, &c. par J. A. Buchon, tom. 15.

The value of the MS. Ambassades is another question. M. Buchon, while he acknowledges its incorrectness in its account of the Parliamentary proceedings on the deposal of Richard, thinks this single error insufficient to destroy its authority on other points. Mr. Webb, admitting its inferiority as an historical document to the account of Creton, is of opinion, that it must have been penned by one who was either present at a great part of what he relates, or had immediate intercourse with many of the actors. I am sorry to differ from these gentlemen; but I retain my former opinion of the MS.

Like the metrical narrative of Creton, the MS. Ambassades enters into a minute and circumstantial detail of occurrences, and frequently recounts conversations in a style more approaching to romance than to history. But Creton authenticates his details, by interweaving his own adventures and personal feelings with the scenes he describes; and when not an eye-witness of the transactions he relates, he is careful to inform us of the fact. He gives an account of the motives that led him to England; tells us of his arrival in London after the departure of Richard for Ireland: and informs us, that he followed that monarch to Milford Haven, attended him in his expedition, and remained with his army till the Earl of Salisbury was sent back from Dublin, to collect forces against Henry of Lancaster, when he accompanied that nobleman into Wales. With Salisbury he remained till the arrival of Richard at

Conway; after which, he continued in company with both till their imprisonment at Chester. He was then separated from them, and taken to London under the protection of Henry. He had, soon after, permission to go back to France; and on his return to his own country, in fulfilment of a promise he had made to the Earl of Salisbury, he composed his narrative, while the scenes at which he had been present were still fresh in his recollection. He is, therefore, a competent witness of many of the transactions he relates; and where his account differs from that of the MS. Ambassades, there can be no doubt that his authority for occurrences of which he was an eye-witness, is to be preferred to that of a nameless author, of whom we know nothing, except that he compiled a chronicle, for the truth of which no voucher is produced. But, if we try the MS. Ambassades by comparing the statements it contains with the facts related by Creton, we shall find, that not only it could not have been written by an eye-witness, but that it must have been composed by one, who, with every affectation of minute accuracy, was ignorant or regardless of the truth.

1. The MS. Ambassades* gives an account of a consultation held by Richard with his friends at Milford Haven, two days after his arrival from Ireland, at which the Earl of Salisbury was present, and represents that nobleman as advising the king to make his escape to Bourdeaux. According to Creton,† who was with the

* Buchon, 68. † Archæol. 96.

Earl of Salisbury at that period, the king and earl met, for the first time after the return of Richard, at Conway Castle, the king having previously abandoned his army at Milford Haven, and with only thirteen attendants accomplished his journey to Conway.

2. The MS. Ambassades relates,* that before Richard quitted Milford Haven, his army had been reduced, by desertion, from 32,000 to 6000 men. Creton, who was at Conway when the king arrived there, and had opportunities of knowing the truth from his followers, tells us,† that the army brought by Richard from Ireland, though dispirited, was entire when he stole away from them; and according to the information he afterwards received, it was not till after the discovery of the king's flight that they were disbanded.‡

3. The MS. Ambassades‖ makes the king remain two days at Milford Haven before the desertion of his troops, and assigns the night of the third day for his secret departure to Conway. Creton tells us,§ that he was two days in crossing from Ireland, and that on the night of his arrival he fled from his army.

4. When the Earl of Huntingdon repaired to Henry at Chester, in order to obtain terms for the king, the MS. Ambassades¶ makes Henry assign as a reason for detaining him at Chester, that he must wait for the return of Northumberland, who had been sent to Con-

* Buchon, 67. † Archæol. 76, 77. ‡ Archæol. 99.
‖ Buchon, 67, 69. § Archæol. 75, 77. ¶ Buchon, 69.

way to negociate with Richard. But it appears from Creton* that the resolution to send Northumberland to Conway was not adopted for many days afterwards.

5. The MS. Ambassades† pretends that Northumberland set off from Chester to Conway on the same day that Huntingdon arrived at Chester. According to Creton,‡ eight days elapsed between the departure of Huntingdon and the arrival of Northumberland at Conway.

6. The MS. Ambassades§ makes Northumberland bring letters of credence to the king from his brother the Earl of Huntingdon. Creton, who was present at his arrival, makes no mention of this circumstance;‖ nor could it have happened in the way related by the MS. Ambassades, as Northumberland could not have pretended to the king, that he had met Huntingdon on the road to Chester, for that nobleman had left Conway eight days before, to go to Chester,—a distance of less than fifty miles.

7. According to the MS. Ambassades,¶ Northumberland proposed to Richard on the part of Henry, that all differences between them should be submitted to the arbitration of four of the king's friends; viz. the Bishop of Carlisle, the Earl of Salisbury, a priest of the name of Maudelain, and the Earl of Westmoreland. According to Creton,** who

* Archæol. 125. † Buchon, 70. ‡ Archæol. 130. § Buchon, 71.
‖ Archæol. 132—137. ¶ Buchon, 71. ** Archæol. 132—137.

was in Conway Castle at the time, the demands of Northumberland were, that Henry should be restored to his hereditary rank of High Steward of England, that a parliament should be held at Westminster, and that the Earl of Huntingdon, the Duke of Surrey, the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlisle, and Maudelain, should be there tried for having advised the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, Henry presiding as Lord Steward at the trial: and on these conditions, Northumberland engaged in the name of Henry, that Richard should be again received and acknowledged as King of England.

8. According to Creton,* Northumberland, of his own accord, offered to swear on the consecrated Host to the sincerity with which he made these propositions. The MS. Ambassades† makes this additional precaution to have been the suggestion of the Bishop of Carlisle. Both agree in representing the king as equally insincere with Northumberland; and describe him, at the moment he was consenting to terms of peace, as planning with his friends how to elude the articles and take bloody vengeance on his enemies.

9. The MS. Ambassades‡ makes the king set off from Conway after dinner. Creton, who was in his company, says they dined sumptuously at Rhuddlan between Conway and Flint.‖

* Archæol. 137.
† Buchon, 71.
‡ Buchon, 72.
‖ Archæol. 147.

10. The MS. Ambassades* pretends that Richard was torn from his friends before he was immured in the castle of Chester, and gives a pathetic description of the Earl of Salisbury and Bishop of Carlisle clinging to his knees when forcibly separated from their master. Creton,† who was present, tells us they were shut up with him, and informs us, that while Henry remained at Chester, Richard abode in the castle with his good friends Salisbury and Carlisle, and with the two knights Scroop and Ferriby.

11. Both relate the wailings and execrations of Richard during the night he passed at Flint Castle, in expectation of the arrival of Henry on the following morning. Creton, who heard them uttered, has clothed them in a dress sufficiently poetical; but if any one wants an example of the talent for embellishment possessed by the author of the MS. Ambassades, more suitable to a romance of Madame de Scuderi than to the sobriety of history, he cannot do better than consult the improved edition that author has given of the king's lamentations. The passages are too long and too tiresome for transcription. They will be found in Buchon's Froissart, xiv. 366, and xv. Supp. 73.

After these discrepancies from the authentic account of Creton, it cannot be pretended, that the author of the MS. Ambassades was present at the transactions he has so disfigured; nor can it be said, that in collecting

* Buchon, 77. † Archæol. 175.

his materials from others, he has shewn that regard to accuracy which the nature of his plan required. Circumstantial details are confirmations of a story when agreeable to truth; but, when fictitious and imaginary, they destroy the credit of the narrative they were meant to adorn, and degrade the author who invents them from the rank of an historian to a novelist.

There are only two passages in the MS. Ambassades, which furnish the slightest ground for believing that the author was present at any of the scenes he delineates. They seem to me inconclusive; and at any rate they apply only to two detached occurrences in his book. His blunders on other occasions shew, that he neither witnessed the transactions he describes, nor had an accurate account of them from those who did.

I should fatigue my readers if I were to prosecute the subject further. I shall add only a few words, to complete the parallel between the two works I have been led to contrast.

Creton having left England soon after the arrival of Richard as a prisoner in London, the remainder of his narrative is derived from the information of a French priest, who had accompanied Henry from the Continent, and who quitted his service in disgust soon after his establishment on the throne. But, though obtained from a quarter unfriendly to England, the account Creton has given of the transactions that followed his own departure to France, is far from being incorrect, and accords on the whole with the rolls of Parliament.

The author of the MS. Ambassades pursues his former course in the remaining part of his narrative, and continues, as before, to dramatise events and make speeches for his principal performers. But he gives no authority for the stories he relates; and where it is possible to compare his statements with authentic documents, such mistakes are visible at every step, as to destroy entirely the credit of his work. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into details till some one comes forward to vindicate his fame. Neither Mr. Webb nor M. Buchon defend him in this part of his narrative.

NOTE B. (See page 39.)

The correspondence of Cardinal d'Ossat, though not an uncommon book, is not in the hands of every one. For the satisfaction of my readers, I have therefore extracted from it the passages referred to in the text. The edition I use is that of Amelot de la Houssaie, published in five volumes 12mo., Amsterdam, 1732.

Cardinal d'Ossat relates to Villeroy, Secretary of State to Henry IV., in a letter of the 22d of September 1599, that having had an audience of the Pope on the 13th of the month, he had stated to His Holiness, in discussing with him the mode of procedure to be adopted in investigating the allegations for the divorce, "Et quant au fait, outré que toutes les choses par nous

" alleguées, étoient vraisemblables, S. S. en avoit déjà " une grande lumière, et nous avoit elle-même appris " la cause que le Roi Charles IX, et la Reine sa mere, " avoient eue de contraindre la Reine Marguerite à ce " mariage;" in explanation of which he enters into the following details, for the information of Villeroy, in the concluding part of his letter.

" Je vous ai mis ci-dessus, comme j'avois dit au " Pape entre autres choses, qu'il nous avoit appris lui-" même la cause, que le Roi Charles IX, et la Reine sa " mere, avoient eue de contraindre la Reine Marguerite " à ce mariage; et que je vous expliquerois cela en " quelque autre endroit de cette lettre. Vous saurez " donc, s'il vous plaît, qu'une de tant de fois, que le " Pape m'a envoyé appeler pour cet afaire, il me dit, " que lorsque l'on étoit après à faire ce mariage, Mon-" sieur le Cardinal Alexandrin, envoyé légat par le " Pape Pie V son oncle, se rencontra en France, et fit " tout ce qu'il put pour le détourner; et qu'après en " avoir parlé plusieurs fois au dit Roi Charles, S. M. le " prit un jour par la main, et lui dit: *Monsieur le Car-" dinal, tout ce que vous me dites est bon. Je le recon-" nois, et en remercie le Pape et vous; et si j'avois " quelque autre moyen de me vanger de mes ennemis, je " ne ferois point ce mariage; mais je n'en ai point d'autre " moyen que celui-ci.* Ajoûta S. S. que lorsque la " nouvelle de la S. Barthelemi vint à Rome, le dit " Cardinal Alexandrin dit: *Loué soit Dieu, le Roi de*

" *France m'a tenu promesse.* Disoit S. S. savoir tout
" ceci, pour ce qu'il étoit auditeur du dit Sieur Cardinal;
" et fut avec lui en tout le voyage, que le dit Sieur
" Cardinal fit en Espagne premièrement, et puis en
" France; *et qu'il avoit lui-même écrit cela des lors,* et
" se pourroit encore aujourd'hui trouver écrit de sa
" main, parmi les papiers du dit Sieur Cardinal Alexan-
" drin. Et est bon, que vous sachiez encore, que comme
" j'allois informant les cardinaux de la congregation,
" un d'eux, à savoir Borghese, me dit, que le Pape leur
" avoit compté cette histoire le jour qui les assemble
" devant soi pour ce fait: dont je suis très-aise. A
" quoi vous pouvez connoitre, entre autres choses, la
" très-bonne inclination de S. S. au bien de cet afaire;
" et la gratitude, que le roi et nous tous lui en devons.
" Aussi me suis-je servi de ce récit, que S. S. me fit,
" en mon ecriture en droit, pour rendre vraisemblable la
" crainte, qu'on avoit faite à la Reine Marguerite, pour
" lui faire faire ce mariage."*

This statement had been communicated by the Pope to the Cardinals on the 31st of August, when he opened to them the subject of the divorce, and stated to them the reasons for and against it, " exhortant les
" dits cardinaux de bien voir et considérer le tout, chacun
" à part, et puis s'assembler tous, pour deliberer en-

* Lettres d'Ossat, iii. 418—420.

" semble' de ce qui seroit à faire, et le lui rapporter."* From the silence of d'Ossat, in his Letter to Villeroy of the 8th of September, it is probable that the fact had not then been disclosed to him.

* Lettres d'Ossat, iii. 401, 402.

THE END.

LONDON:
J. MOYES, TOOK'S COURT, CHANCERY LANE.

A BRIEF ADDRESS

TO

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND,

&c.

[*Price Sixpence.*]

A BRIEF ADDRESS

TO

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND

ON

THE CRIMINAL LAW.

RR-f-27

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TO

THE LIBERAL AND ENLIGHTENED PEOPLE

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRYMEN:

ON a subject on which you all have thought,—on a subject most closely connected with your moral interests and your character as a humane and benevolent nation,—I, an humble, and for the present anonymous individual, desire to address a few words to you.

The state of our Criminal Code is such as none of you can approve. It has been a source of regret, not only to the patriot, to the philosopher, and to the philanthropist, but to every considerate man in every class of society. Often and again have you expressed your

abhorrence at the present system; often and again has the eloquence of a Buxton, a Mackintosh, a Lushington, and a departed Romilly, been exerted almost to no available purpose. Sickened at the thought of having so many of your fellow-creatures doomed to suffer the punishment of Death, but disgusted at the perseverance of the Legislature in refusing attention to the suggestions of benevolence, you have begun to despair on the subject. But despair in such a case is wrong. No design however benevolent, no purpose however wise, no object of great and national importance,—was ever carried into effect, even by a free and powerful nation, without many, reiterated, and, at first, fruitless attempts. Look back but for the short period of twenty years, and consider, how, in a single session, a plan for the relief of millions of our fellow-creatures was perfected; a plan, too, that had been brought forward in our Commons House of Parliament time after time, unsuccessfully, for nearly a quarter of a century, though backed by the greatest eloquence, though supported by the ablest men that this, or perhaps any country ever produced.

Think but for a moment of the pleasing satisfaction that the Abolition of the Slave Trade must have shed on the minds of the benevolent promoters of that measure. Think but for a moment of the glorious halo that Britain cast around its brow by that enactment, that left liberty, as far as we could leave it, to the bleeding and unfortunate inhabitants of Africa, that uncultivated clime. There Slavery had for centuries fixed its firmest habitation; and still would have continued to reside with

undiminished severity, had not the beneficent spirit of England taken its inhabitants under her peculiar protection.

This measure took place too, my Friends, not when the tranquillity of peace clothed our shores with a smile, but when the ravages of hostility were apparent in every countenance; when almost all of us were bemoaning the loss of some dear and departed friend; when we were engaged in a war remarkable for its duration, and distinguished by the ferocious spirit of our opponents. Then the trumpet sound of destruction was heard in our ranks; scattered among the nations, we fought and bled for our country's cause, and by the consent even of our enemies were enrolled as the most gallant of mankind. Not satisfied,—ambitious always,—we surpassed our former ambition; gallant, we would be benevolent, and by one short law obtained for ourselves the title of Benefactors of the Bondsmen. Happily, by the blessings of Providence, and the counsels by which this kingdom was directed, that war is at an end. And are we now, in a state of peace, to despair of effecting an object, not so difficult as that which was effected in a time of war, and much more closely connected with our own true interests? Are we not now to give our attention to the management of our internal affairs? Are we not now to endeavour to correct the abuses which have crept into the administration of justice, and to erase from our Statute Book those laws, which are not a greater disgrace to human nature than to the age and country in which we live?

We have gone on far too long with a spirit of severity in our system. We have retained Draco's plan, though we have advanced beyond Draco's age. No offence scarcely, however trivial,—no crime, however atrocious, was to be punished in a different manner. Death and blood! cried the stern philosopher, looking out from his desolate chamber,—Death and blood for every offender! Felony without benefit of clergy! has the English Legislator in the same spirit, for years and centuries past, exclaimed against the man, who steals your sheep or your horse, or takes away your life;—who steals to the amount of 40*s.* in your dwelling-house, or plunges a dagger into the heart of every inhabitant;—*who personates a Pensioner of Greenwich Hospital**, or sets fire to that or any other house, by which the lives of hundreds of individuals may be sacrificed;—against the man who, a villain and a betrayer, administers poison to the woman whom he has seduced; or the woman who, unfortunate and helpless, the victim of a moment's thoughtlessness, destroys her offspring to conceal the shame of her situation;—against the man who forges, or utters, knowing to be forged, a Bank of England Note, or a Coin of the Realm; or the man who, wishing to overthrow the Constitution of our Country, the lasting monument of the united wisdom of our forefathers, commits treason against the state.

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* This is inserted here, because it may be a question, whether personating a Greenwich pensioner is not now felony without benefit of clergy, as the Stat. 54 Geo. III. c. 93. s. 89, making this a capital offence, is unrepealed, though the Stat. 3 Geo. III. c. 16, applicable to this offence, was repealed by 4 Geo. IV. c. 46.

Felony without benefit of clergy has thus been dealt out with an unsparing hand against almost every offence. The consequence has been that which every man must have expected would be the result of such an indiscriminate method of legislation. Not only has respect for the legislature and the laws been destroyed, but the very object for which those laws were enacted has been defeated. The end of punishment is the prevention of crime. To attain that object, in every particular case, we should consider the effect that the punishment, intended to be applied, would be likely to produce not only on the criminal, but on the public at large. If I might venture an opinion, I should say that the error which the English Legislator has fallen into, has arisen from considering the effect of the punishment with reference rather to the individual offender than to the great body of the people.—A man has committed an offence: It is the intention of the legislature to prevent a repetition of it. The punishment of death will certainly answer that purpose with respect to the individual, and the English legislator immediately declares it to be Felony without benefit of clergy. But in making this law, does he consider the probable effect on the public mind? Yes, says he; the example of a criminal forfeiting his life to the injured laws of his country must have the operation of deterring others from a repetition of a similar offence.

Is this the result?—Does it accord with the opinions of any men who have ever treated of the subject? of the philosophic Montesquieu, of the humane and benevolent

Beccaria, of our enlightened Roscoe, or of our patriotic and ever-to-be-lamented Romilly?—is it borne out by the history of other nations, or the experience of former ages? No! On the contrary, the more severe the laws of any state have ever become, the greater the number of criminals and the more atrocious the crimes that have been committed have always been found to be. We may trace this in the annals of every nation, in the universal history of the world. And if we inquire the cause, we shall find it, not in the rudeness or barbarism,—not in the luxury, anarchy, or despotism of a particular age; but in the still small voice implanted in every man's breast, and in the peculiar frame of the human constitution. Man is a being bound by sympathy to his fellow-man. He rejoices with him in his pleasures, he condoles with him in his afflictions, he feels compassion for his infirmities. He is indignant at acts of injustice and treachery, of oppression or violence; and immediately a spirit of resentment arises in his breast,—not however a spirit of resentment which would for a trifling offence inflict the greatest punishment, but which would measure deeds according to their merits, and affix a punishment proportionate to the offence. This should be only so severe, as will cause in the minds of the spectators a feeling of indignation against the criminal, and make them think with shame of his conduct. If it should exceed this, the indignation will be averted from the Criminal to the Law, and the feeling towards the criminal will be converted into pity for his misfortunes. The laws will be treated with disrespect,—the legislature will be thought of with abhorrence. The people accustomed

to the exhibition of cruel spectacles, will become themselves cruel; and man,

> "Whose breast expands with generous warmth,
> A stranger's woes to feel,
> And bleeds in pity o'er the wound
> He wants the power to heal."

will lose the characteristic of his nature, and become like the adamantine rock, impregnable to every mild impression.

I could myself enlarge on this subject; but the opinion of an anonymous writer you may not think deserving of much attention, and therefore I shall quote a passage from Mr. Craig's work on *Political Science*, vol. i. page 349.

"The moment we depart from the criterion of justice "furnished by the natural and universal sentiments of "mankind, we no longer have any known or determi- "nate standard; we shall be guided by our fears, by our "speculations, or, what is worst of all, by the exclusive "interests of those ranks which are above temptation "to the crime and most likely to be injured by its pre- "valence: statute will be added to statute, punishment "added to punishment, till at last our criminal law will "become the disgrace of humanity."

This, my Friends, is a picture not too highly coloured, and indeed, to our shame, very applicable to the present state of our Criminal Code. When we look around

and consider the number of executions that take place, merely in this metropolis, in the course of the year, we must be shocked either at the baseness of human nature, or the profligate expenditure of human life. From our ranks individuals are daily going forth not only into every corner of this empire, but into every quarter of the habitable globe, for the purpose of giving liberty to the captive, breaking the iron fetters of the Negro, rescuing the souls of millions of our fellow-creatures from the errors of the darkest superstition, and imparting the light of that Gospel, whose truths shed the greatest comfort on our lives. Is it possible, that while we ourselves are so enthusiastic in the cause of truth, of religion, of virtue, and of the happiness of mankind, we should at the same time be so corrupt as to require such a system of criminal legislation? Is it possible that there can be any necessity for the horrid spectacle of five or six men being hung up at once at the Old Bailey, for crimes not of a violent or atrocious nature? Can it be believed that in this, the nineteenth century, and in a Christian country, there should have been within the last six or seven years, fourteen unfortunate individuals put to death at that place within fifty hours? If it had been asked me, and I had not known England, I should have said that it was impossible.

But, my Friends, is it necessary? Englishmen, forbid the thought! Come forward in this Session of Parliament with Petitions from every village of the empire, and represent loudly, but respectfully, the necessity for an immediate mitigation of the Criminal Code. This is a

cause in which no self-interested motives can, and no political feelings ought to have, any influence. You will too, if I mistake not, be supported in the House of Commons by an individual, who to the honour of an exalted station adds the much higher honour of looking to his country's weal; who, besides the discharge of the duties of his important office, bestows unwearied attention on the internal administration of justice; who, by his praiseworthy exertions in the cause of suffering humanity, is obtaining for himself a character honourable among men of the present day, and that will be handed down to posterity with many grateful recollections. Happy is the man, who is possessed of the disposition and the power to do good on such an extensive scale! And happier, far happier, is the country that is blest with such a minister!

Having such an able and powerful advocate, success will smile on your endeavours. The genius of England will shine forth in its true colours, no longer tarnished by that stain which has hitherto darkened her glory. She will, once for all, take that station which she is entitled to, and in future ages will be as much distinguished for the just mildness of her Criminal Code, as she has long been remarkable for her love of freedom and the excellency of her political institutions.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

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